

WAS IRAQ WORTH IT? • POLITICS OF FAT • MEL'S NEW FILM

# TIME

ARE KIDS  
**TOO  
WIRED  
FOR THEIR OWN  
GOOD?**

What science tells us about  
the pluses—and minuses—  
of doing everything at once

BY CLAUDIA WALLIS



A large group of diverse business professionals, including men and women of various ages and ethnicities, are standing in a modern office lobby. They are dressed in professional attire, such as suits, blouses, and dresses. The setting features large windows on the left, a wooden ceiling with recessed lighting, and a polished floor.

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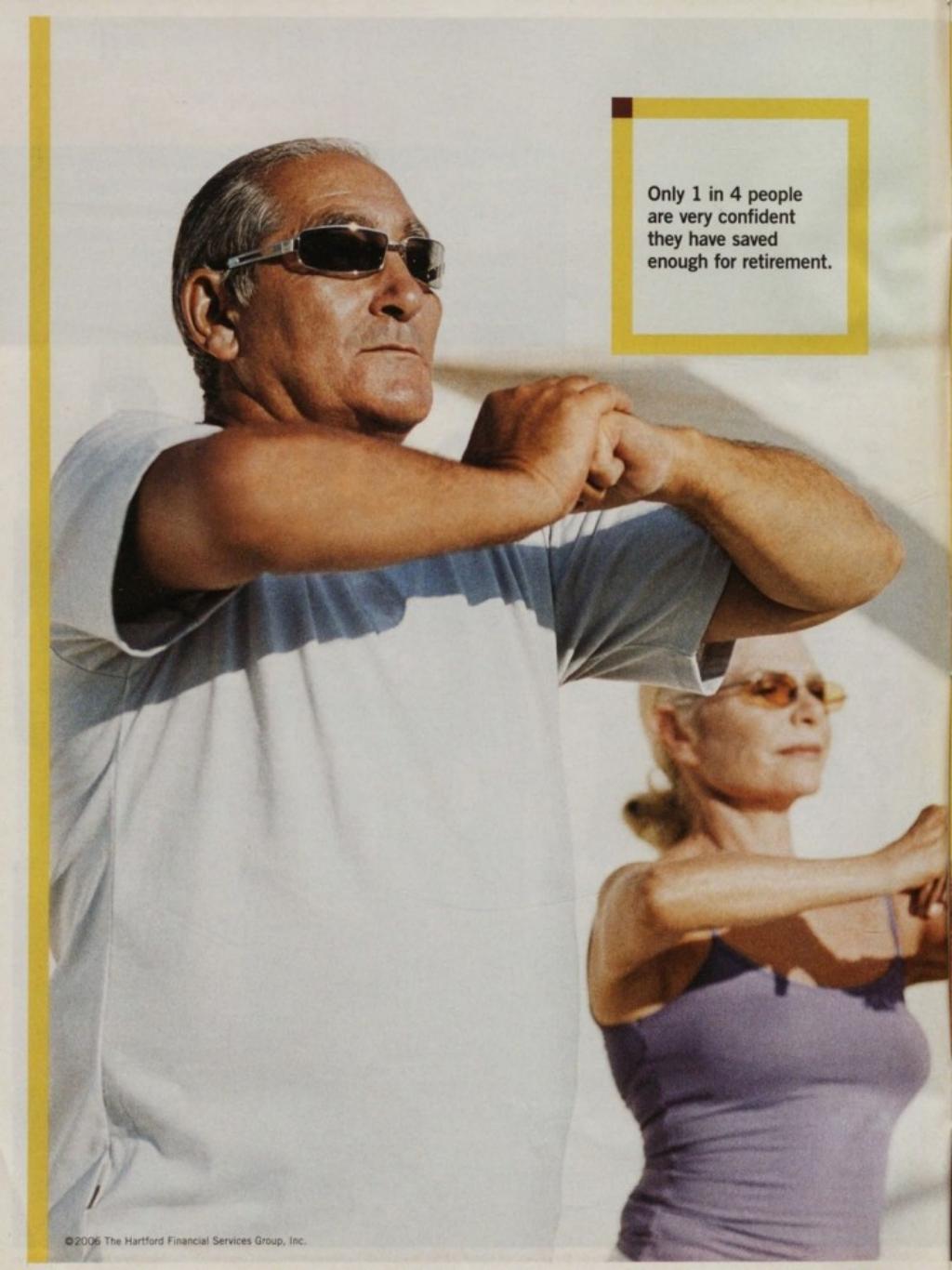
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here and Shanghai.

A photograph of a man and a woman in sunglasses stretching their arms. The man is in the foreground, wearing a light blue t-shirt, and the woman is in the background, wearing a purple tank top. They are both looking upwards and to the right.

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THE WORLD ACCORDING TO JILL

My first victim was a doll named Tabitha. She was the most fashionable, one-armed, hair-made-of-yarn girl the town had ever seen. Invited to all the best tea parties those days, I tone it down a little. But fabrics are still my thing. I find them in parts of the world I can't even pronounce. And now my creations are worn by people I don't even know. On red carpets all over the world, not to mention all the best tea parties, I'm sure.

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# TIME

March 27, 2006  
Vol. 167, No. 13

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A makeshift tent shelter Iraqi families whose homes were destroyed by suicide truck bombings

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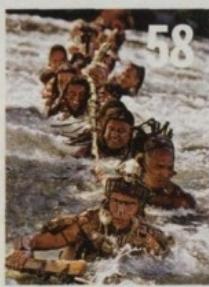
## COVER

**genm**

They e-mail. They IM. They're glued to their cell phones and their iPods. They write their history essays with chat rooms open and the TV blaring. What is all this digital juggling doing to the brains—and relationships—of the multitasking generation? The results of the first studies offer some clues.



▲ Antibesity ads aim to change Americans' eating habits



▲ Captive Mayan villagers ford a river in Gibson's *Apocalypto*

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## Does Frodo Still Live?

This week TIME gives you a sneak peek at the new stage musical based on *The Lord of the Rings*. If you're a fan of the books and the movie, below, you probably want to know more about how the work has survived onstage. Critic Richard Corliss and correspondent Steve Frank answer your queries at [time.com/lotr](http://time.com/lotr)



### OUR WONKETTE

Ana Marie Cox, creator of the political blog Wonkette and author of the Washington novel *Dog Days*, knows a thing or two about power relationships, which she analyzes in this week's back-page Essay. Check out her new weekly column on [time.com](http://time.com), where she'll be reaching beyond the Beltway to look at the intersection of politics and the personal.



## THREE YEARS AND COUNTING

On the third anniversary of the start of the Iraq war, the debate continues to rage over whether going to war was worth it. In addition to the thinkers and experts who weigh in on the issue in this week's magazine, you can find comments on [time.com](http://time.com)—and you can tell us how you would answer the question. We'll post a selection of responses. Meanwhile, [time.com](http://time.com) takes advantage of the extraordinary work of the photographers who have covered the conflict for TIME to give you a definitive photo history of the war, from the aerial bombardment of Baghdad in March 2003 to the violence that continues to plague the country up to this moment.

## VIEWPOINTS ON HEALTH

**GLOBAL-HEALTH UPDATE:** In her blog, our chief health writer, Christine Gorman, covers the news on everything from avian flu to AIDS [time.com/ghupdate](http://time.com/ghupdate)



**THE DOCTOR'S VIEW:** Dr. Annie Egan and Dr. Scott Haig are two of the physicians who each week give a doctor's perspective on health issues [time.com/doctorsview](http://time.com/doctorsview)

**DAILY Rx:** Every day TIME's health team sorts through the latest research from the medical journals and explains what it means for you [time.com/dailyrx](http://time.com/dailyrx)

**THE DAILY DISH**  
He re-examined his early writing about the war in Iraq last week and lambasted Comedy Central for dropping a *South Park* episode about Tom Cruise. Check out what blogger Andrew Sullivan has on his mind this week, every day at [time.com/dailydish](http://time.com/dailydish)



## Q&A

### CRAZY BUSY

Have your own problems with multitasking? Dr. Edward

Hallowell, psychiatrist and author of the book *CrazyBusy: Overstretched, Overbooked and About to Snap*, will answer your questions at [time.com/hallowell](http://time.com/hallowell).

And Claudia Wallis, who wrote this week's cover story, will offer her own tips on how to manage your workload in a world where the In Box never seems empty.

## THE ARCHIVE

### The Best of TIME Last Year



Finalists for the National Magazine Awards, the Oscars of our business, were announced last week, and TIME got nods in three categories—photography, single-topic issue and general excellence—which singled out the three issues shown here. Go to [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com) to read them for free this week; subscribers can always use the archive for free.

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# 10 QUESTIONS FOR BETTE MIDLER

**S**he started in the bathhouses of Manhattan and sang a famous goodbye serenade to Johnny Carson. Along the way Bette Midler, 60, has built a career out of making retro cool, from films like *For the Boys* to her latest CD, *Bette Midler Sings the Peggy Lee Songbook*. The Divine Miss M spoke with TIME's Richard Zoglin about Mae West, Las Vegas and the next generation of divas.

**WHAT ATTRACTED YOU TO**

**PEGGY LEE?** I missed a lot of people growing up. I never saw her work live. Never saw her on television. But Barry Manilow sent me these songs, and I was really kind of stunned. In my excavation of cool—like Miles and Chet and the beatniks—she never came up. The women never came up. It was always the men. And she was cooler than any of them.

**ARE YOU TRYING TO**

**REPRODUCE HER OR DO YOUR OWN THING?** She was very restrained as a singer. Very stripped down, no frills. It was a challenge for me to not get overly dramatic. Because I am a little bit overly emotional. But I'm not Mariah—I'm not an overembellisher. I like the song to be basically about the lyric and the melody rather than about my musicality.

**WHAT SINGERS INFLUENCED**

**YOU EARLY ON?** I was crazy about Mae West. I used to see old films of hers, and she made a very big impression on me because she was very funny, she was very risqué and she was also very beautiful in a kind of blowzy way. And she was very musical—she basically sang the blues.

**IS THERE A FEMINIST THEME IN**

**THE ARTISTS YOU CELEBRATE?** Yes, I think there is, really. I've always liked kind of



independent spirits, because they're not fake. They've kind of accepted the fact that this is the way for them, and they're not going to hide their light. I've always felt myself a little bit outside the mainstream. My parents never told me that there was any other way to be. They always insisted that I was going to work for a living, that I didn't have to get married, that I didn't have to take any old job, that I should fight for something that I really loved.

**SO WHAT ARE YOU DOING NEXT?** I'm creating diva boot camp. I'm going to tell all the little girls who want to be a big diva how to laugh.

**YOU USED TO TOUR WITH BARRY MANILOW. PEOPLE SOMETIMES MAKE FUN OF HIM AS MR. '70S SCHMALTZ. WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT HIM?**

I love his sense of humor. I love his devotion to the craft and his devotion to this kind of music. That music is really the music of his childhood. One of

my crackpot theories is that you never really get over that music. He's never really budged off his music, which I think is really fascinating. When I was flagged, I said, Oh, maybe I better do something else, and didn't have the courage of my convictions. But he really does. So good for him.

**ARE YOU GOING TO TOUR AGAIN?**

I would like to go to Europe with my show. But things are so unsettled in the world, and I kind of don't really know what to do. I'd like to get to 100 performances. I'm up to about 87. And I'm talking to people in Las Vegas because I think it would be nice to get off the road and not waste so much gas.

**DO YOU LIKE VEGAS?**

I'm of two minds about Vegas. I think Vegas is strange, and I don't know where their water comes from. But as a town and a place for an entertainer, there's no comparison. There's no other place you can go to where you can just sit and do six weeks at a time and have your band and your staff be so happy. On the other hand, as an environmentalist, I'm a little shaken up by it.

**AS AN ENVIRONMENTALIST, WERE YOU HAPPY TO HEAR PRESIDENT BUSH, IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH, SAY WE OUGHT TO LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVES TO OIL? I**

guess [the oil companies] made enough money. If he means it, not a moment too soon.

**ANY OTHER THOUGHTS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT?**

I'm not going to be political. It is so ugly out there right now. And I don't want to add to the ugliness. I have my views. Most people who know me know what they are. I will tell you that I've never lived through anything like this. And that's all I'll say.



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\*2005 Center for Automotive Research study. Includes direct, dealer and supplier employees, and jobs created through their spending.  
\*\*Toyota vehicles and components are built using many U.S. sourced parts. ©2006



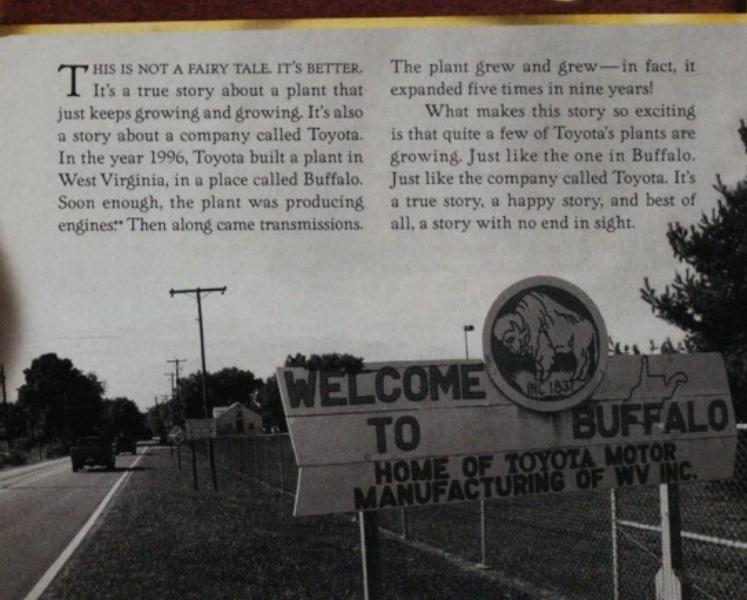
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## LETTERS

# On the Way to Civil War?

Our report on the warfare between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims in Iraq provoked many readers to conclude that the situation is indeed civil war and should have been expected. Some readers contested the idea that the U.S. invasion sparked the fire, while others offered hope for peace.

AS LONG AS THE EYE-FOR-AN-EYE MENTALITY dominates Middle East thought and behavior, there is little hope for a peaceable solution to Iraq's incipient civil war [March 6]. The philosophy of perpetual retaliation is devoid of love and not a part of God's plan for the human family. It is time to bury the sword and put on the mantle of love that should be worn in churches, synagogues and mosques everywhere.

PAUL L. WHITELEY SR.  
Louisville, Ky.

BEFORE THE USUAL VOICES CLAIM THAT the sectarian violence in Iraq is evidence of the futility of toppling Saddam Hussein, consider that the worst repressor of individual freedom in the Middle East—Iran—is still busy fomenting strife among its neighbors. Iran's militant regime is sowing chaos in the Middle East as it goes flat out to develop nuclear weapons. It needs a distracted West and a war-torn Iraq to accomplish that goal.

TONY MINCHIN  
Melbourne, Australia

THE CHOICE IN IRAQ INCREASINGLY seems to be between imposing a police state or unleashing a civil war. Given the fractured history of the country and the divided makeup of the population, those two possible outcomes were predictable before the U.S.'s invasion in 2003. Bush's war has taken a bad but stable situation under Saddam Hussein and made it worse for Iraqis and the world.

ROBERT J. INLOW  
Charlottesville, Va.

I CAN'T ACCEPT THE ARGUMENT THAT THE escalating sectarian violence in Iraq has nothing to do with 24 years of Sunni oppression of Shi'ites and Kurds under Saddam but is the result of the incompetent U.S. invasion. What about the pas-



**If the Shi'ites and the Sunnis refuse to cooperate, let them form separate states. Otherwise, they will continue to battle.**

BOB MASON  
St. Albert, Alta.

sion to avenge atrocities committed by the former regime? The U.S. can't be blamed for that. Still, Iraqis are probably better off with a dictator, somebody to force them to get along. They thrive on dictatorships and blood feuds.

MICHAEL KLENA  
Baltimore, Md.

IF THE SHI'ITES AND THE SUNNIS REFUSE to cooperate, let them form separate states. Otherwise, they will continue to

battle. Dissolving the former Soviet Empire and breaking up its satellite states like Yugoslavia made sense. So does separating Iraq.

BOB MASON  
St. Albert, Alta.

## Chemical Reaction

MORE THAN FOUR YEARS HAVE PASSED since terrorists attacked the U.S., too long to wait for legislation to protect the country's essential chemistry industry [March 6]. The American Chemistry Council, representing companies that make approximately 85% of U.S. chemical products, supports federal legislation to give the Department of Homeland Security authority to secure chemical facilities across the U.S. It's not often that an industry asks to be regulated, but homeland security and the protection of America's vital assets must be addressed as a national priority.

JACK N. GERARD  
PRESIDENT AND CEO  
AMERICAN CHEMISTRY COUNCIL  
Arlington, Va.

## Of Ports and Politics

THE INITIAL DECISION TO ALLOW A DUBAI-owned company to operate terminals at major U.S. ports was a good one; many free-market economists will tell you as much [March 6]. But the deal was unacceptable, given the fear and distrust of foreigners that the President and the Republican Party have cultivated in the people of the U.S. since 9/11. Bush needed Americans to adopt those attitudes in order to justify the war in Iraq and ensure his reelection. What he didn't count on was that those same attitudes would come back to haunt him.

ANDREW BOUTHILET  
Evanston, Ill.



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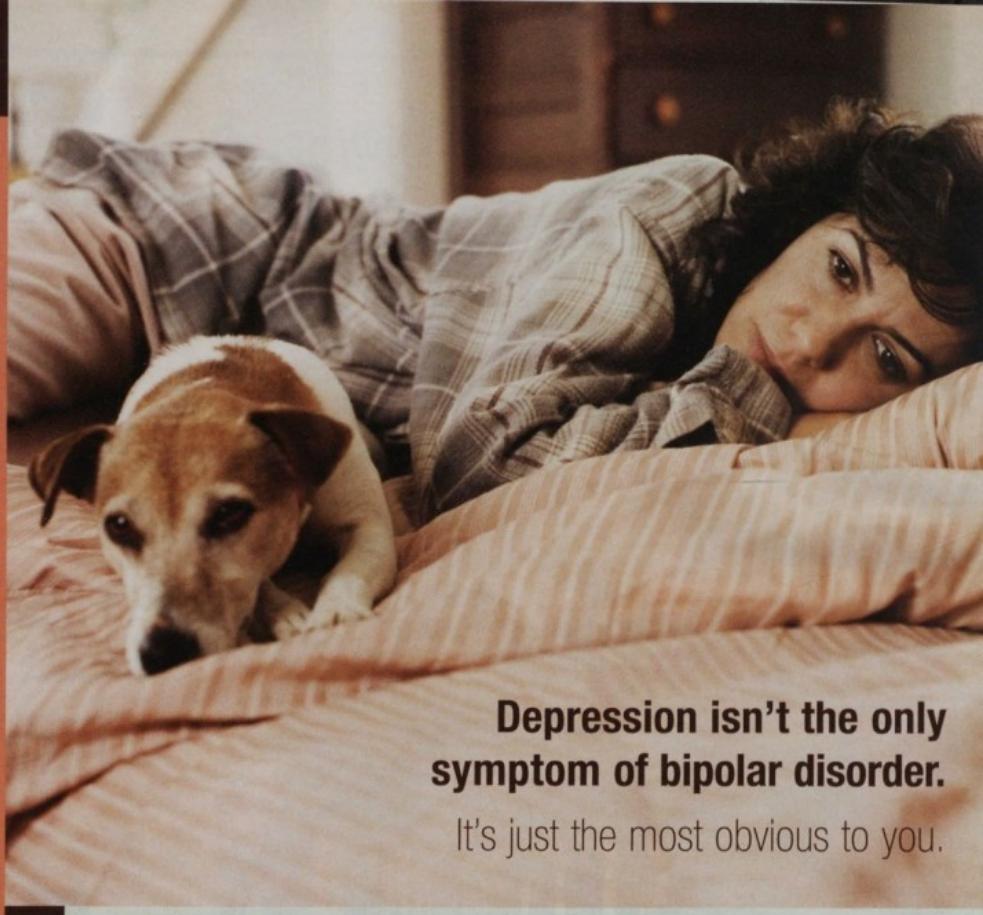


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## Depression isn't the only symptom of bipolar disorder.

It's just the most obvious to you.

Like many people with depression, treatment may have made you feel better. But maybe you still don't feel like yourself. After you stopped feeling "down," maybe you started feeling way "up."

**You could have manic symptoms of bipolar disorder.** They include spending out of control, having racing thoughts, flying off the handle at little things, needing less sleep, and feeling irritable.

**No one's to blame.** It's a chemical imbalance and millions are undiagnosed or diagnosed incorrectly.

**Discuss it with your doctor.** Because you may need a different treatment, your doctor needs to know about the ups as well as the downs to make the correct diagnosis and prescribe the right treatment.

**Answer the questions on the right.** Take them to your doctor and discuss your symptoms. Learn more about bipolar disorder and get practical advice and support. Call or go online.

# Is it more than just depression? Answer these questions and talk to your doctor.

Answer the questions below\* and, *regardless of your answers*, share them with your doctor. They are meant only to help you talk to your doctor about bipolar disorder and to learn more about it.

Only a health care professional can evaluate, diagnose, and prescribe treatment.

Remember, people with bipolar disorder can live full lives with appropriate treatment. You can, too.

## 1. Has there ever been a period of time when you were not your usual self and...

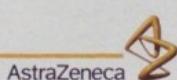
	YES	NO		YES	NO
...you felt so good or so hyper that other people thought you were not your normal self, or you were so hyper that you got into trouble?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	...you were much more social or outgoing than usual, for example, you telephoned friends in the middle of the night?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...you were so irritable that you shouted at people or started fights or arguments?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	...you were much more interested in sex than usual?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...you felt much more self-confident than usual?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	...you did things that were unusual for you or that other people might have thought were excessive, foolish, or risky?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...you got much less sleep than usual and found you didn't really miss it?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	...spending money got you or your family into trouble?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...you were much more talkative or spoke much faster than usual?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
...thoughts raced through your head or you couldn't slow your mind down?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. If you checked "YES" to more than one of the above, have several of these ever happened during the same period of time?	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
...you were so easily distracted by things around you that you had trouble concentrating or staying on track?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			
...you had much more energy than usual?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. How much of a problem were any of these for you — were you unable to work; did you have family, money, or legal troubles; did you get into arguments or fights? Please select one response only.	<input type="checkbox"/> No problem	<input type="checkbox"/> Minor problem
...you were much more active or did many more things than usual?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/> Moderate problem	<input type="checkbox"/> Serious problem

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## CREATING LIFE OUTSIDE THE WOMB



The claim by South Korean scientist Woo Suk Hwang that he had achieved the first therapeutic cloning of a human embryo made moralists uneasy even before much of his research was found to be flawed. TIME addressed a similar ethical controversy in the July 31, 1978, cover story on the first baby conceived through in vitro fertilization:

"On television newscasts in Europe and the U.S., stories about an obscure British couple [Lesley and Gilbert Brown] and the abstruse subject of embryology shouldered aside items about the Middle East, international trade balances and inflation.

Some commentators heralded the coming birth as a miracle of modern medicine, comparable to the first kidney and heart transplants. **THEOLOGIANS—AND MORE THAN A FEW PROMINENT SCIENTISTS—SOUNDED WARNINGS ABOUT ITS DISTURBING MORAL, ETHICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS.** Others, made wary by the recent cloning hoax, remained unconvinced that the child about to be born was indeed the world's first baby conceived in a test tube ... Yet for all the breathlessness and hyperbole in the British press—"We could get baby farms, mass-produced kids, 1984 six years early!" exclaimed London Daily Express Editor Derek Jameson—the Brown venture fell far short of ushering in a Brave New World."

## Bring Back the Big Easy

"THE BIG BLANK CANVAS" [MARCH 6], about the struggles the people of New Orleans are facing as they attempt to rebuild, made for sad reading. I spent a very enjoyable holiday in the city in December 2004. I was struck by the vibrancy of the place and the friendliness of the people. It

appears that the decision to rebuild the city is being questioned. How can the U.S. turn its back on its own people, but spend \$30 billion reconstructing Iraq? Let's hope that the recent Mardi Gras celebration will rally public opinion in favor of rebuilding the once proud city.

TONY KEAST  
Halifax, England

## People Power Betrayed?

TIME'S REPORT ON THE FOILED PLOT TO overthrow the government in the Philippines noted that the coup was to be announced during the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the People Power revolution that toppled Ferdinand Marcos [March 6]. A gift to the world uniquely our own, People Power has been used and abused until its true essence is degraded. To say that Filipino history repeats itself is an understatement. What's happening nowadays to the country clearly indicates that history strikes back with a vengeance. The inability of some Filipinos to learn from the past holds back the entire country.

RAPHAEL CAUSAPIN  
Manila

FILIPINOS WROTE ASIA'S FIRST CONSTITUTION and proclaimed its first republic. The monuments to the People Power revolution offer a hint of the democratic achievements of the Philippines, but its citizens are capable of accomplishing even more.

LEOMIL O. APORTADERA  
Iloilo City, the Philippines

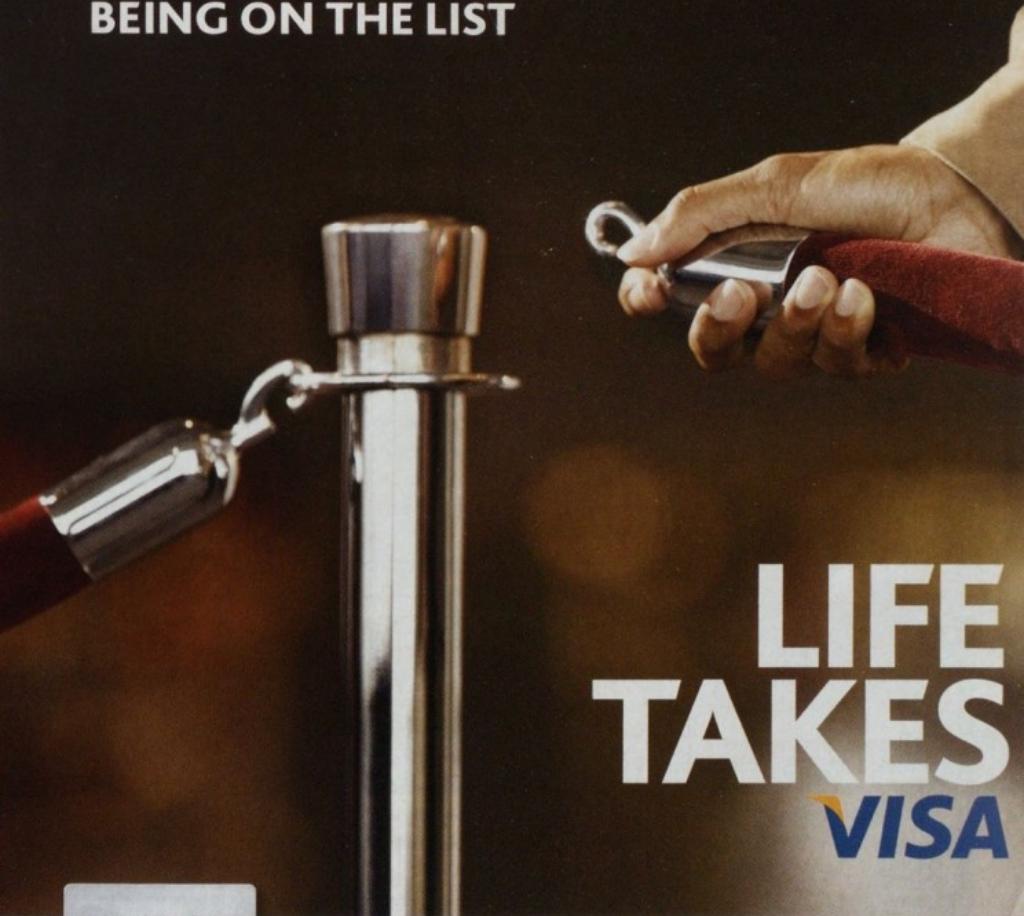
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EXPRESS  
SHINE SPONGE

# LIFE TAKES

BEING ON THE LIST

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# LIFE TAKES

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# What's your key to staying connected?

It's a credit card.

It's a key. It's a ticket.

No, it's your cell phone.

**T**oday, cell phones are doing a lot more than just playing the latest pop tune when someone calls.

"The cell phone today can do almost everything, including open a can of beer," says Iain Gillott, president of the Austin, Texas-based consulting firm iGR. "It's one of the few things that you take with you everywhere – along with your sunglasses and your keys."

You can soon leave those keys at home, however, because you'll use your cell phone to open your front door. At the airport, you'll wave your wireless device at a reader to check in for your flight. And you'll use that same device to order movie tickets and to pay for your purchases at the local retail store.

#### From Rare to Routine

Applications like these – termed Near Field Communication – are already available from pioneering wireless service providers, and they are likely to become commonplace in just a few years.

"In the future, most wireless devices will support certain functions," says Robert Mesirow, a vice president of the Cellular Telecommunications & Internet Association

(CTIA), based in

Washington, D.C., which

will showcase the latest

in wireless at its Wireless 2006 show April 5-7 in Las Vegas. "They will have voice capabilities. They will have a camera. They will play music. And they will include a mobile wallet."

**CTIA WIRELESS 2006**

A Division of CTIA-The Wireless Association

#### Getting Personal

But that doesn't mean that all wireless devices will look the same. In fact, the trend is quite the opposite – personalization is becoming paramount. Already today, individuals can buy a wireless device and content that truly reflect their passions, whether those passions are sports, music or entertainment.

The personalization trend started with ringtones.

"The desire to show our individuality is why people will pay more for a ringtone than they will for a full song," Mesirow says. "Ringtones allow us to put our personality into our phone."

But today personalization is moving to the next level.

For instance, are fantasy sports your thing? There's a service that will deliver you the latest stats and scores – and a video-enabled wireless device with a high-resolution screen that will allow you to watch the game while riding home on the subway. Want a phone specially designed for your kids? It's coming soon – cartoons and all – to a store down the street. Want to download music onto a phone that also delivers great sound quality – and alerts you when Britney Spears releases her newest album? No problem.

"We're right on the edge where we are starting to see that devices and the content that those devices deliver will be big differentiators," says Mesirow. But no matter how wireless content and devices evolve, he says, one thing will remain the same: "No matter what bells and whistles you add to devices, wireless is still all about being connected."

# In the future, mobile communications will be wrapped around you.

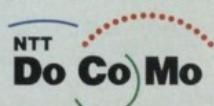


In our vision of the future, mobile communications will make your life richer. There'll be a whole new flexibility in how you send and receive information. One of many ideas is a paper-thin, digital material that can display a newspaper, the Internet and your e-mails or even become a screen for presentations and video conferences.

We are NTT DoCoMo, Japan's leading mobile communications provider. Researching further than just voice, data and video, we're moving to previously unimaginable levels. One day soon, you'll be communicating in a much freer and more convenient fashion, using mobile devices that you will feel entirely

comfortable with. Our R&D teams are working with our partners to deliver ideas tailored to fit the needs of each and every person wherever they may be.

With such visionary advances, we're pioneering a new way of living: an easier access to the world and all the experiences it can offer. At NTT DoCoMo, we'll keep moving onwards to make our dreams a reality. Communication beyond words



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\*Protection Plan provides coverage for two years or 50,000 miles (whichever comes first) from the date of the expiration of the 4-year/50,000-mile BMW New Vehicle Limited Warranty. "Roadside Assistance provides coverage for two years (unlimited miles) from the date of the expiration of the 4-year/unlimited-miles New Vehicle Roadside Assistance Plan. See participating BMW center for details and vehicle availability. For more information, call 1-800-334-4BMW or visit bmwusa.com. ©2006 BMW of North America, LLC. The BMW name and logo are registered trademarks.

# GITMO GOAT OR HERO?

**D**ID MAJOR GENERAL Geoffrey Miller—commandant at Guantanamo Bay and a top adviser on interrogations at Abu Ghraib—do wrong? No, says a new report by Lieut. General Stanley Green, the Army Inspector General (IG), that TIME obtained last week. A Pentagon panel recommended

lawyer told TIME: "The IG is entirely correct in fact and law."

Miller's exoneration may only inflame his critics. At a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing last week, chairman John Warner pointedly suggested to one of Miller's superiors that he "go back over this entire matter," warning that Miller will be recalled before the panel to explain himself. Sources close to the powerful committee say that



A new report exonerating Miller—shown in Iraq in '04—could anger his critics

last summer that Miller be reprimanded for poor oversight of a high-value prisoner at Gitmo. But Green told TIME that the evidence is not there to back charges against Miller of dereliction and lying to Congress about his role in the scandal. The report concludes that at Gitmo Miller was unaware a canine had been used to intimidate alleged "20th hijacker" Mohammed al-Qahtani, or that al-Qahtani was forced to don women's underwear and perform dog tricks—even though Miller was intimately involved in planning al-Qahtani's interrogation. The report even lavishes praise on Miller, noting the "strength, energy and effectiveness of [his] leadership." Miller's military

anger at Miller has escalated sharply since he invoked his right to avoid self-incrimination and refused to testify in the detainee-abuse trial of an Abu Ghraib dog handler. In that case, defense lawyers argued that their client was following guidelines from Abu Ghraib military-intelligence chief Colonel Thomas Pappas, who in turn has said under oath that Miller advocated using dogs to "get information" from prisoners.

Green, the Army IG, says that people need in the abuse-scandal investigations to find a "donkey to pin the tail on." But he insists "Miller is not the one." Which leaves the question: Who is? —By Adam Zagorin and Sally B. Donnelly



“This is certainly more serious than anything President Clinton was accused of doing.”

**RUSSELL FEINGOLD**, Senator from Wisconsin, after introducing a resolution to censure President Bush for his no-warrant-spying program. Feingold's fellow Democrats blocked a hasty vote on his proposal, wary of challenging Bush on a national-security issue

“My friend, whether there's a civil war or not, we don't want you to intervene.”

**MUQTADA AL-SADR**, Iraqi Shi'ite cleric and militia leader, in response to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's comment that the U.S. would let Iraqi forces deal with any civil war

“People who wear Christ on their sleeves and vote against helping people are the biggest hypocrites.”

**CHARLIE MELANCON**, Democratic Congressman from Louisiana, after the House approved \$4.2 billion in aid to states affected by Katrina but rejected an amendment he sponsored to boost funding for repairs to New Orleans' levees

“How is it that they conclude that the great evil in this country is discrimination against white people?”

**THEODORE SHAW**, president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, about colleges that have opened scholarship programs previously reserved for minority students to everyone, fearing legal challenges to race-based preferences

“There's no way you can protect the U.S. by building a big cage around it.”

**MICHAEL JOHANNIS**, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, on the inevitability of the arrival of avian flu

“It is as if you have asked me to go back five years or 10 years and asked me not only what I got for Christmas but what order I opened the presents.”

**DAN BROWN**, The Da Vinci Code author, in a London court to fight charges that he plagiarized, responding to a lawyer's questions about the order in which he had bought books to research the thriller

“I'm not going to retire with a thousand dollars.”

**AMANDA NEWKIRK**, pregnant teenage waitress in Roanoke, Va., who was grateful but realistic after getting a huge tip on a \$26.35 bill. The woman who left the tip said that doing so “changed my life”



## Can the U.S. Prevent This?

**I**N IRAQ, IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE devices—homemade bombs also known as IEDs—have caused more than half of the 2,300 U.S. troop deaths. In terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, those devices were the plotters' weapons of choice, and bomb experts believe it is only a matter of time before an IED strike takes place in the U.S. But

Washington has done little to prepare a national strategy for the threat. According to government sources and bomb experts, efforts to coordinate Administration plans to deal with the danger have stalled in part because of inexperienced leadership and bureaucratic infighting. The Bush Administration created a national IED Task

### The London attacks last July showed the deadly power of IEDs

Force, but it has met only once—last November in Washington—and provided no clear steps forward. No more meetings are planned. "Everybody wants things to go faster," says a White House spokeswoman. "But we're moving as fast as possible."

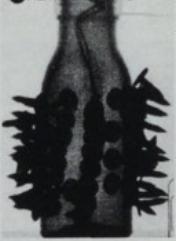
One problem is that most explosives experts—and their respective bureaucratic fiefs—are deeply entrenched in their agencies, including the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) and the FBI. Those two organizations, which have a long history of rivalry, are battling over such issues as which agency can use the name Bomb Data Center. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has sown

confusion as well by replicating some of the efforts of the ATF and the FBI. It is even duplicating its own work: at least two sections of DHS are scrambling to create bomb centers. Left out of this already complex equation are state and local bomb squads, who were not invited to the task-force meeting even though they will almost certainly be the first responders to a crisis.

Bomb experts warn that the confusion in Washington only increases the level of risk.

"Everybody is worried about the kinds of IEDs we're seeing in Iraq ending up in the U.S.," says an expert. He believes the U.S. should be better prepared for such an attack. "The question," he says, "is whether we will be." —By Sally B. Donnelly

© NEWS EXCLUSIVE



## SPEED READ

### SATs

## Scoring Snafus

Already dreaded by high schoolers, the SAT won no new fans when it emerged in early March that 4,600 tests were scored incorrectly. A week later, an additional 1,600 tests were found to need rechecking. A guide to the debacle:

**Who's to blame?** The rain, apparently. The morning of the October 2005 testing was so wet that the answer sheets expanded, which meant they misaligned with the scoring scanners. Because the whole process is mechanized, nobody noticed until late December, when two students asked to have their tests rescored by hand (for a fee), which took about a month. Those misscored tests led to the rechecking of the entire year's tests—which was not finished until early March. **How serious is the problem?**

Tiny. The 4,600 affected tests were 0.8% of the 495,000 taken that day. Only 16 tests were underscored 200 points or more; 95% of the scores were 10 to 90 points too low. Those will be fixed, but the 600 scores that were too high won't be adjusted. "The SAT has been around since 1926," notes the College Board's Chiara Coletti. "In that time there hasn't ever been an error of this kind."

**And the 1,600 other tests?** Every time the SAT is given, some score sheets need a second look—to investigate irreg-

ularities like possible cheating. That's why those 1,600 tests were set aside before re-checking began. They resurfaced last week. Those results will be ready this week.

**Are the problems fixed?** The contractor that scores the tests is working on technical solutions. Critics carp that the system still has no real safeguards, but the College Board says hand scoring is an adequate control. It is requested by someone from nearly every sitting, giving ample opportunity to catch glitches. —By Clayton Neuman

## UPDATE

### RANDAL MCCLOY JR.

The sole survivor of the Sago Mine explosion on Jan. 2 that killed 12 other coal miners, Randal McCloy Jr., 26, is making "miraculous" strides, his doctors say. Still undergoing therapy at a rehab center in Morgantown, W.Va., McCloy—brain damaged from inhaling carbon monoxide for more than 40 hours—can walk with help and speaks well enough to ask for hamburgers, says family spokeswoman Aly Goodwin Gregg. McCloy—below, with daughter Isabel before the accident—made his first visit home last week and feasted on ribs. He should be well enough to go home for good in two weeks, says Dr. Julian Bailes. "This doesn't guarantee he will ever return to normalcy, but we're very enthusiastic." McCloy's memory of the accident is hazy, but one thing is certain: if and when he can work, he's getting a new job. —By Allan Madrid



MCCOY FAMILY/AG

*In patients with type 2 diabetes and at least one other risk factor for heart disease*

# STROKE SINCE

**LIPITOR cuts the risk of stroke by nearly half (48%).**

The results from a landmark clinical trial are in. If you have diabetes and other risk factors, LIPITOR® can significantly reduce your risk of a stroke by nearly half. Why wait any longer? Talk to your doctor today. Find out if LIPITOR, the #1 prescribed cholesterol medicine in the world, is right for you. Call us at 1-888-LIPITOR (1-888-547-4867). Find us on the web at [www.lipitor.com](http://www.lipitor.com)

Risk factors for heart disease include high blood pressure, smoking or complications of diabetes, including eye disease and protein in urine.



#### **IMPORTANT INFORMATION:**

LIPITOR® (atorvastatin calcium) is a prescription drug. It is used in patients with multiple risk factors for heart disease such as family history, high blood pressure, age, low HDL or smoking to reduce the risk of heart attack and stroke and, along with a low-fat diet, to lower cholesterol.

It is also used in patients with type 2 diabetes and at least one other risk factor for heart disease such as high blood pressure, smoking or complications of diabetes, including eye disease and protein in urine, to reduce the risk of heart attack and stroke.

LIPITOR is not for everyone. It is not for those with liver problems. And it is not for women who are nursing, pregnant or may become pregnant.

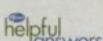
If you take LIPITOR, tell your doctor if you feel any new muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of serious muscle side effects. Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take. This may help avoid serious drug interactions. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function before and during treatment and may adjust your dose. The most common side effects are gas, constipation, stomach pain and heartburn. They tend to be mild and often go away.

*Please see additional important information on next page.*

LIPITOR is one of many cholesterol-lowering treatment options in addition to diet and exercise that you and your doctor can consider.

---

Uninsured? Need help paying for medicine? Pfizer has programs that can help, no matter your age or income. You may even qualify for free Pfizer medicines. Call 1-866-706-2400. Or visit [www.pfizerhelpfulanswers.com](http://www.pfizerhelpfulanswers.com)



# IMPORTANT FACTS



**LIPITOR**  
atorvastatin calcium  
tablets

(LIP-ih-tore)

## LOWER YOUR HIGH CHOLESTEROL

High cholesterol is more than just a number, it's a risk factor that should not be ignored. If your doctor said you have high cholesterol, you may be at an increased risk for heart attack. But the good news is, you can take steps to lower your cholesterol.

With the help of your doctor and a cholesterol-lowering medicine like LIPITOR, along with diet and exercise, you could be on your way to lowering your cholesterol.

Ready to start eating right and exercising more? Talk to your doctor and visit the American Heart Association at [www.americanheart.org](http://www.americanheart.org).

## WHO IS LIPITOR FOR?

### Who can take LIPITOR:

- People who cannot lower their cholesterol enough with diet and exercise
- Adults and children over 10

### Who should NOT take LIPITOR:

- Women who are pregnant, may be pregnant, or may become pregnant. LIPITOR may harm your unborn baby. If you become pregnant, stop LIPITOR and call your doctor right away.
- Women who are breast-feeding. LIPITOR can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby.
- People with liver problems
- People allergic to anything in LIPITOR

## BEFORE YOU START LIPITOR

### Tell your doctor:

- About all medications you take, including prescriptions, over-the-counter medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements
- If you have muscle aches or weakness
- If you drink more than 2 alcoholic drinks a day
- If you have diabetes or kidney problems
- If you have a thyroid problem

## ABOUT LIPITOR

LIPITOR is a prescription medicine. Along with diet and exercise, it lowers "bad" cholesterol in your blood. It can also raise "good" cholesterol (HDL-C).

LIPITOR can lower the risk of heart attack or stroke in patients who have risk factors for heart disease such as:

- age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL-C, heart disease in the family, or
- diabetes with risk factor such as eye problems, kidney problems, smoking, or high blood pressure

## POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF LIPITOR

Serious side effects in a small number of people:

- **Muscle problems** that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. Your chance for muscle problems is higher if you take certain other medicines with LIPITOR.

- **Liver problems.** Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start LIPITOR and while you are taking it.

Symptoms of muscle or liver problems include:

- Unexplained muscle weakness or pain, especially if you have a fever or feel very tired
- Nausea, vomiting, or stomach pain
- Brown or dark-colored urine
- Feeling more tired than usual
- Your skin and the whites of your eyes turn yellow

If you have these symptoms, call your doctor right away.

The most common side effects of LIPITOR are:

- |                 |                                  |
|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| • Headache      | • Constipation                   |
| • Diarrhea, gas | • Upset stomach and stomach pain |
| • Rash          | • Muscle and joint pain          |

Side effects are usually mild and may go away by themselves. Fewer than 3 people out of 100 stopped taking LIPITOR because of side effects.

## HOW TO TAKE LIPITOR

### Do:

- Take LIPITOR as prescribed by your doctor.
- Try to eat heart-healthy foods while you take LIPITOR.
- Take LIPITOR at any time of day, with or without food.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. But if it has been more than 12 hours since your missed dose, wait. Take the next dose at your regular time.

### Don't:

- Do not change or stop your dose before talking to your doctor.
- Do not start new medicines before talking to your doctor.
- Do not give your LIPITOR to other people. It may harm them even if your problems are the same.
- Do not break the tablet.

## NEED MORE INFORMATION?

- Ask your doctor or health care provider.
- Talk to your pharmacist.
- Go to [www.lipitor.com](http://www.lipitor.com) or call 1-888-LIPITOR.



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LPIF Rev 2, Dec 2005

# ON THE BLOCK

CUNNINGHAM: MICHAEL BLAKE—HEUTERSON  
ARMSTRONG: IRS CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION



BEEN LOOKING FOR A 19TH century French armoire in walnut, with a veneer of disgrace? The IRS may have a deal for you. It's auctioning off the cabinet and nearly 40 other antiques this week—all part of \$2.4 million in bribes taken by ex-Congressman Randy (Duke) Cunningham—with proceeds going toward his unpaid tax bills. Here's a peek at other items, once owned by big-name debtors, that the government seized to put on the block. —By Kathleen Kingsbury



## ▼ MURDER-ABILIA

A federal court ordered prosecutors to sell Unabomber Ted Kaczynski's papers and other personal effects—such as a copy of Strunk and White's *The Elements of Style* similar to the one above—to help pay the \$15 million in restitution Kaczynski owes vic-

tims of his mail bombs. A sale date has not been set.

**► CLEANING HOUSE** In his 2004 plea bargain, ex-Enron CFO Andrew Fastow forfeited \$29 million, including his Galveston, Texas, home, which the feds sold for \$595,000 last year.



BRYSON: KELLY A. SWIFT—AP/WIDEWORLD

FASTOW: PAT SULLIVAN—AP

**▼ FARM AID** Saddled with \$16 million in IRS debt, country crooner Willie Nelson had to let the agency sell off his 44-acre Texas ranch in 1991. But the auction's winner, who paid \$204,000, didn't send Nelson on the road again. He returned the home to the singer, praising Nelson's longtime advocacy of farmers.



NELSON: MICHAEL BISHOP—UPI/ANDREW RANCH

# The Vatican's Quiet American

**W**HILE POPE BENEDICT XVI is busy filling the shoes of John Paul II, a quiet American is trying to do the same in Benedict's old job. So how's it going for William J. Levada, former Archbishop of San Francisco, whom Benedict tapped to head the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith? "I'm past the deer-in-the-headlights phase," he told TIME last week in his first interview since he took office in August.

Good thing. The most influential U.S. prelate in Roman Catholic history, Levada is tasked with maintaining doctrine and discipline among the 1.1 billion faithful at a time when several issues threaten to divide the flock. In November the church issued a controversial Instruction on gay seminarians. To Levada, "the document is very clear. A person with deep-seated homosexual tendencies is not suited for the priesthood." Another tricky topic: Should politicians be denied Communion if they espouse policies that contradict church teaching?

Levada would like to see that debated more but says, "There are certain teachings that, as Catholics, we have to accept as part of Jesus' gospel," such as opposition to abortion. "Catholic politicians



DAVID PAUL MORRIS—GETTY

need to take this seriously," he says. "Maybe they need to say, 'I'm not able to practice my faith and be a public representative.'"

A more immediate concern is the ceremony this week at which Levada and 14 other prelates will be elevated to Cardinal by the Pope. Asked how he might feel when he gets the red hat signifying that high office, Levada admits a purely sartorial worry. "Of course," he says, "you want to make sure you have your hat on straight." —By Jeff Israel

## MAN'S NEW BEST FRIEND?

**M**eet the latest in Japanese robotics: a droid that cares ... for old people. A team of scientists at Riken's biomimetic-control research center in Nagoya has developed RI-MAN (for Robot Interacting with Human) to look after the elderly. Standing 5-ft. 2-in. tall, the robot can hoist 77 lbs; its 320 pressure sensors and soft silicone skin allow the robot to safely carry a human body. RI-MAN can also pinpoint where sound is coming from and "smell" eight scents—including urine, which signals "diaper change." But RI-MAN needs a brainpower boost before it's ready for consumers. It can't distinguish faces yet, for example. Scientists say they'll smarten it up soon, but will they give this tin man a heart? —By Sora Song



ALLISON/SHUTTERSTOCK

## NUMBERS

**54,902** Number of licensed gun dealers in the U.S. in 2005, down 78% from 1994

**5** States in which gun dealers outnumber gas stations

**\$8.27 trillion** Level of federal debt reached last week, causing the Bush Administration to ask Congress to raise the legal limit

**4** Times the Administration has asked Congress to raise the debt ceiling in the past five years



SIBBROOK BY AP/WIDEWORLD

**1,067** Baby crocodiles found in the car of a man in South Africa who faces prosecution for illegally possessing and transporting them

**\$10 billion** Estimated annual value of the market for wildlife trafficking—the second largest illegal trade in the world, after drugs

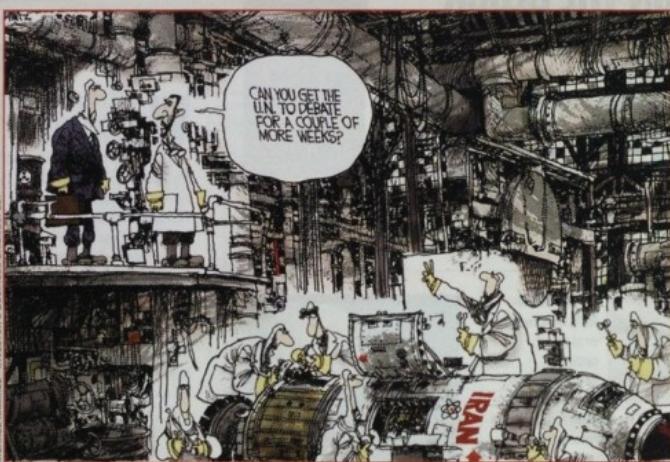


MARC SEROTA—REUTERS

**2 million** Viewers who watched the first day of the 2006 NCAA basketball tournament online, the first time CBS has aired games free on the Net

**\$3.8 billion** Estimated value of productivity lost as fans track the three-week tourney at work

Sources: Violence Policy Center (2); U.S. Treasury; AP (2); State Dept.; CBS Sportsline; Challenger, Gray & Christmas



"The Old Grey Donkey... thought sadly to himself, 'Why?' and sometimes he thought, 'Wherefore?' and sometimes he thought, 'Inasmuch as which?' — and sometimes he didn't quite know what he was thinking about."

—A. A. Milne

“This new series called *Big Love* is about a guy with three wives in Utah. You know what the penalty is for having three wives? Three mothers-in-law.”

—JAY LENO

“Last night Ozzy Osbourne was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. During his speech, Ozzy choked up and said, ‘This is a night I will remember for the rest of the night.’”

—CONAN O'BRIEN



For more political humor, visit [time.com/cartoons](http://time.com/cartoons)

“The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers defended the quality of the materials being used to rebuild the levees around New Orleans and said they would be ready for the next hurricane season—as long as there are no hurricanes.”

—AMY POEHLER



**A NOMINATED. ANDREW VON ESCHENBACH**, 64, as George W. Bush's third Food and Drug Administration (FDA) commissioner; in Washington. The promotion of Von Eschenbach, who has been acting FDA chief since the resignation of Lester Crawford last September, promptly stalled over the controversy surrounding Plan B, the "morning after" pill. A urology surgeon who has led the National Cancer Institute since 2002 (he now plans to retire from that job), Von Eschenbach enters a long-simmering battle. The Bush Administration has so far delayed a decision on whether to approve the emergency contraceptive pill for over-the-counter use despite a green light from FDA scientists. Critics, including Democratic Senators Patty Murray and Hillary Rodham Clinton, who last week vowed to put a hold on his nomination pending an FDA decision, say the agency is compromising science to appease conservatives.

**DIED. ANN CALVELLO**, 76, fiery Roller Derby Queen and a reigning icon of the American sport cum spectacle since the 1940s; in Burlingame, Calif. Cast as a villain who relished boos from the crowd, she reached her zenith in the

'60s as a star of San Francisco's famed Bay City Bombers. With purple, green and polka-dot hair, tattoos and a flair for elbow-throwing, the Meanest Mama on Skates endured 12 broken noses and numerous cracked ribs competing over seven decades.

**DIED. LENNART MERI**, 76, witty, charismatic first President of independent Estonia after its 1991 split from the Soviet Union; in Tallinn. A survivor of a Soviet labor camp, he pushed free-market policies and established close ties with the U.S. during his two terms as President.



**DIED. MAUREEN STAPLETON**, 80, brilliant, adamantly unglamorous actress who, despite an utterly unpretentious style—"The main thing is to keep the audience awake," she said of her craft—won awards and critical raves for astute, rich performances over her 60-year career; in Lenox, Mass. She got her break in 1951 as a passionate Italian-American widow in Tennessee Williams' *The Rose Tattoo*, for which she won a Tony. Later she created roles in Neil Simon plays like *Plaza Suite* and won an Oscar for

her portrayal of anarchist Emma Goldman in the 1981 film *Reds*.

**DIED. G. WILLIAM MILLER**, 81, indefatigably optimistic Federal Reserve Chairman, then Treasury Secretary, during the Carter Administration who battled inflation and engineered the 1979 government bailout that saved carmaker Chrysler from bankruptcy; in Washington.

**DIED. ROBERT BAKER**, 84, food scientist credited with inventing the chicken nugget; in North Lansing, N.Y. He revolutionized the poultry industry by developing ways of separating and binding together chicken meat, then making it stick to its breading—innovations that spawned such snacks as dinosaur-shaped nuggets and chicken ham.

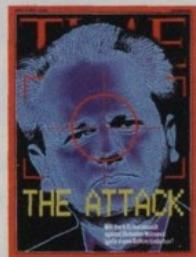
**DIED. OLEG CASSINI**, 92, Paris-born designer who convinced Jacqueline Kennedy she should have one chief couturier, then went on to create the elegant dresses and pillbox hats that made her the most stylish, most copied First Lady in U.S. history; on Long Island, N.Y. After dressing Marilyn Monroe and onetime fiancée Grace Kelly in Hollywood, the pioneer "celebrity designer" set up shop in New York City in the '50s and launched still popular trends such as A-line dresses and men's colored shirts before taking the White House position in 1961. His motto: "Be mobile at all times."



**DIED. RAY MEYER**, 92, avuncular basketball coach who led DePaul University to 724 wins from 1942 to '84; in Wheeling, Ill. The Hall of Famer's prize pupil was 6-ft. 10-in. George Mikan, who, under Meyer's tutelage in the '40s, morphed into basketball's first great "big man."

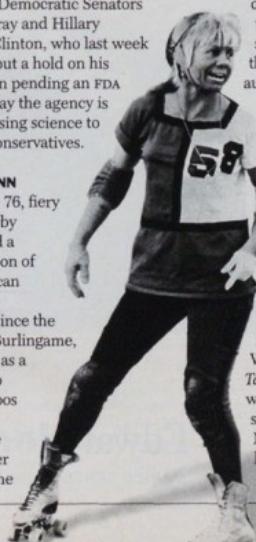
## 7 YEARS AGO IN TIME

In 1999, NATO air strikes effectively ended the rule of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic and led to his jailing for alleged war crimes. His trial was nearing its end when he died of a heart attack. He was buried last week in Serbia.



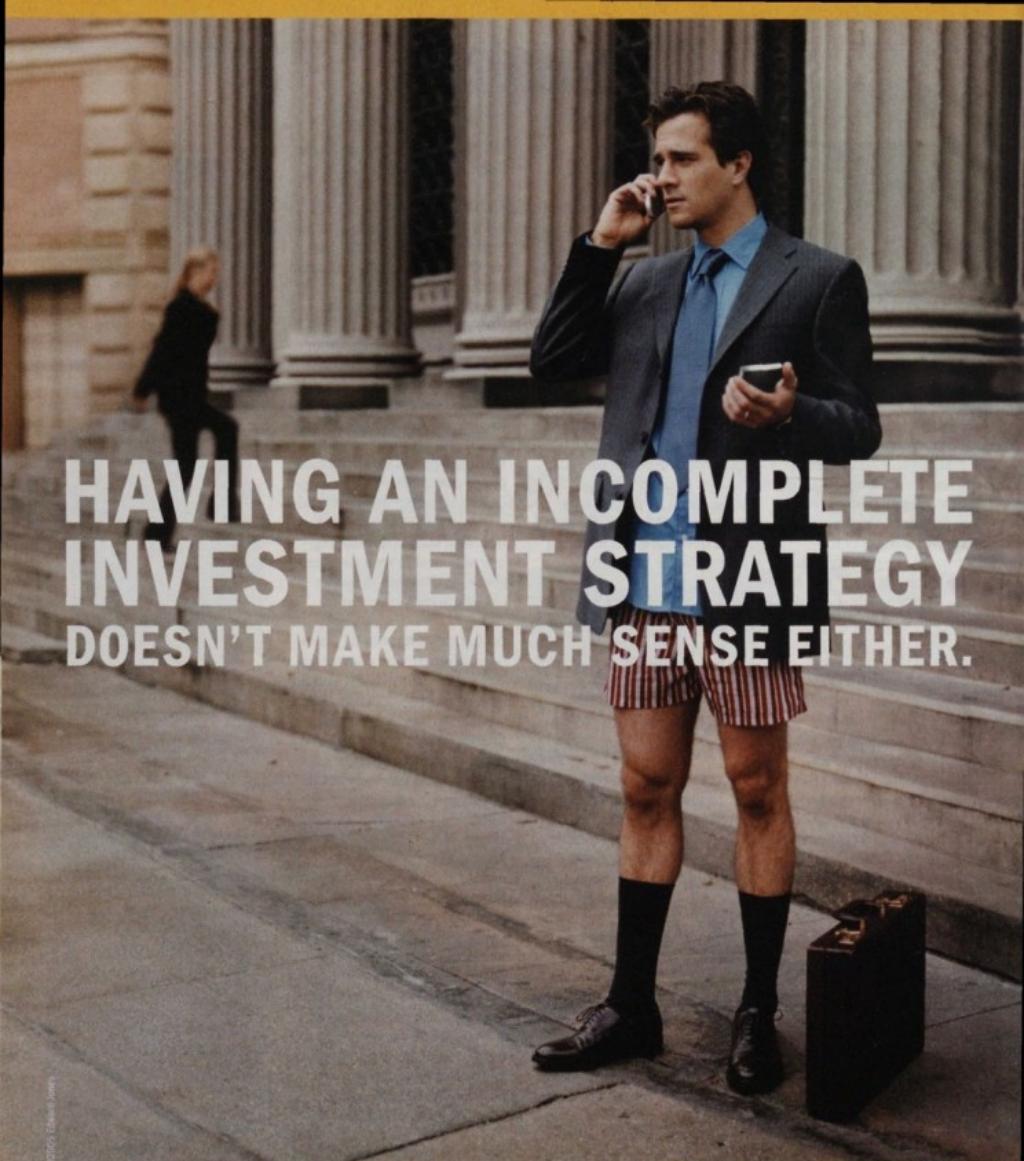
Who wants to die for Slobodan Milosevic? He is one of the great losers of history. He failed to hold together the former Yugoslavia, and he failed to build in its place a Greater Serbia. In the past 10 years, he has launched four wars and lost three... As Europe's most disruptive dictator since the fall of the Berlin Wall, he bears responsibility for the extermination of 250,000 in Bosnia and Croatia, for the European revival of concentration camps and massacres, for the displacement of millions in Bosnia and Croatia and Kosovo, for the impoverishment and ostracism of his own country. Now Milosevic has again chosen war. Like a shark that has to keep moving to stay alive, he is willfully exposing the withered state of Serbia to the might of NATO for the sake of his own power.

—TIME, April 5, 1999



By Melissa August, Harriet Barwick, Elizabeth L. Bland, Julie Norwell and Logan E. Orlando

Read the entire article at [time.com/years](http://time.com/years)



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MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

Joe Klein

# Our Eyes Are Open. Now What?

**A**FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE WAR IN IRAQ BEGAN THREE YEARS ago, I checked in with an Israeli friend, an intelligence expert who in 1991 had uncannily laid out for me the course of the first Gulf War on the night before it happened. "It'll be easier than 1991 this time," he said. "A three- or four-week campaign. But I have a question: You're not actually thinking of occupying that country, are you?" I asked if he had an alternative. "You decapitate the government—Saddam, his family and friends, the Special

Republican Guard—but leave the rest of the army intact, and then find yourself a nice Mubarak," he said, referring to Egyptian strongman Hosni Mubarak.

As I've traveled through the region since the war began, I have heard the same sentiments from high-ranking government officials in Jordan, Turkey, Syria and Saudi Arabia: only a strong Sunni general could tame Iraq. But what about the rightful claims of the Shi'ite majority? "Oh, the Shi'ites usually go along," I was told in Saudi Arabia. "They're simple country people."

There was a breathtaking cynicism to all this. There was also utter disbelief that President George W. Bush actually thought he could bring democracy to a medieval society in which the strongest social units were tribes. Saddam was dangerously excessive, the neighbors agreed, but so were the Iraqi people—"the most violent in the neighborhood," a Jordanian told me. It went without saying that the Shi'ites usually endured unspeakable brutalities before they agreed to "go along." But this was realism, Middle East style.

Three years into this awful adventure, the question is, What is realism, American style? The U.S. effort in Iraq has been a deadly combination of utopian fantasy and near criminal incompetence. The absence of thoughtful military preparation—the Bush Administration's unwillingness to acknowledge the threat of a guerrilla insurgency—is laid out in greater detail than ever before in a new book, *Cobra II*, by General Bernard Trainor and Michael Gordon. It



**Is this just a whack-a-mole response? Iraqi soldiers in Samarra last week**

remains a mystery why Donald Rumsfeld, the architect of this disaster, has been allowed to continue as Secretary of Defense. There is some good news in Iraq today, says Andrew Krepinevich, leading counter-insurgency expert: "After the recent wave of sectarian violence, all parties—even many of the Sunnis—realize they need us to keep the peace. The bad news is we still don't have a real campaign plan for doing that."

What would a realistic American policy look like now? There are three possibilities, none of them attractive: a top-down political solution, a bottom-up security solution and a staged retreat. Krepinevich and Kenneth Pollack of the Brookings Institution support the bottom-up "oil stain" strategy. This is a classic counterinsurgency plan, in which U.S. forces would refrain from whack-a-mole search-and-destroy sweeps, like the overhyped helicopter assault north of Baghdad last week, and instead concentrate on providing a strong local police presence and economic development in the 14 out of 18 Iraqi provinces that are relatively stable. If progress can be achieved in those areas,

the argument goes, the "oil stain" of stability might spread through the rest of the country. The problem is, this strategy will require far more troops and time—five years, at least—than most Americans seem prepared to support. "We may have passed the tipping point," Pollack admits. "We may no longer have the credibility with the Iraqis, or the American public, to make this succeed. But the only alternative is an ethnic bloodbath."

The top-down political solution is to impose with force a power-sharing deal, perhaps including a partition into Kurdish, Shi'ite and Sunni provinces. In the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, military historian Stephen Biddle argues that Iraq's internal strife is not a "Maoist people's war" like Vietnam's was: it is a communal civil war, and the Bush policy of rapidly building an Iraqi army "throws gasoline on the fire ... Sunnis perceive the 'national' army as a Shi'ite-Kurdish militia on steroids." Pollack agrees: "We have about 50 Iraqi battalions capable of fighting now, but not one of them is blended ethnically." Biddle argues that U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad's efforts to broker a deal need to be strengthened by U.S. threats "to manipulate the military balance of power"—in other words, to support one of the ethnic factions, as the British colonial empire used to do. It is true that an Iraqi solution is impossible without a grand political bargain (including a formula for distributing oil revenues), but the idea that the U.S. can manipulate such an outcome—by force, no less—seems fanciful at best.

The third potential course is retreat, which Bush will never countenance—but which is no longer unthinkable, given the evaporation of public support for the war. Retreat would leave anarchy in Iraq and quite possibly lead to a regional war of Sunnis against Shi'ites. The President won't admit it, but on the third anniversary of his war, the only plausible reason for remaining in Iraq is to prevent an even greater catastrophe. That is realism, American style. ■

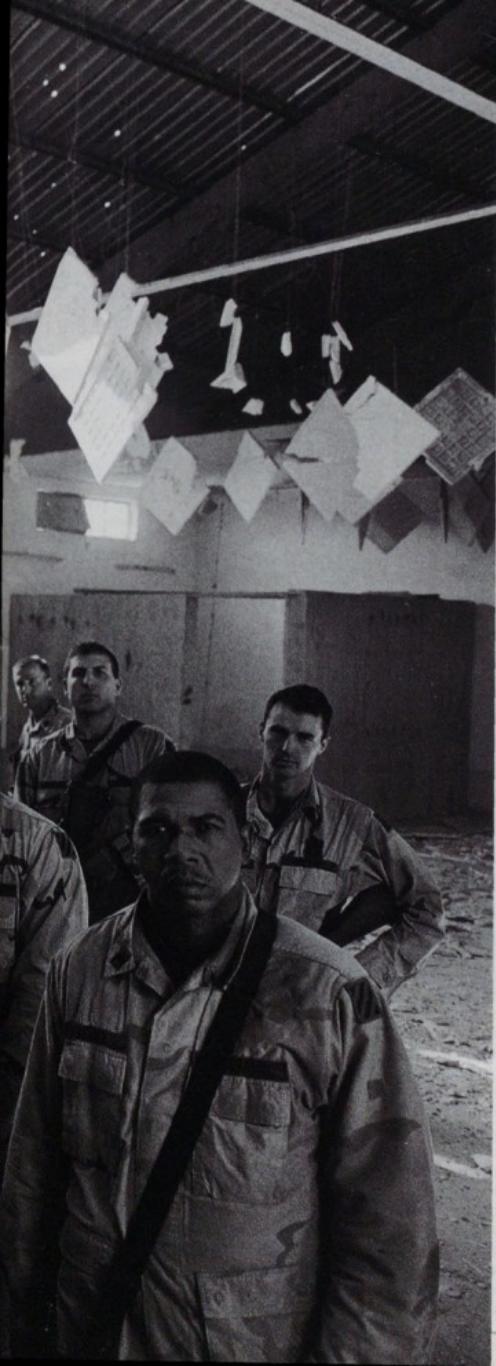
**To see a collection of Joe Klein's recent columns, visit [time.com/klein](http://time.com/klein)**

# TIME



## UNDER ASSAULT

Soldiers of the  
3rd Platoon  
abandoned a  
Ramadi-base  
mess hall after it  
was regularly hit  
by RPGs



# WAS IT WORTH IT?

Three years into the Iraq war, TIME posed the question to a wide array of experts and thinkers. The answers may surprise you

**W**AS IT WORTH IT, OF COURSE, IS ONLY ONE OF THE questions. What were the alternatives? What could have been done differently? Are things getting better or worse? And however we got here, what do we do now? As the Iraq war's third anniversary approached, the news fed both doubts and hopes. Saddam Hussein took the stand in his trial for the first time, reminding people of what they were missing. Meanwhile, the brand-new Iraqi parliament met in a capital under curfew to pull together some kind of future amid warnings of civil war. U.S. forces launched Operation Swarmer, the biggest air strikes since the invasion, to root out insurgents north of Baghdad. President Bush embraced realism: "We will see more images of chaos and carnage in the days and months to come," he warned as he argued why that was a price worth paying.

This war has brought division from the start, not just among but also within us. In between those who were always against the war and those who are still for it lie the shifting ambivalents who want this whole massive gamble to work but increasingly fear that it won't. Among the more ardent critics these days are pundits and policymakers who favored the strategy three years ago, even helped shape it, and are now doing a kind of public penance for their failure of foresight. Defense hawk Richard Perle, for example, has declared that the U.S. got the war right and the postwar wrong.

There has been a pattern for modern American wars going back to Korea: broad public support at the outset, growing concern as casualties rise or progress stalls and then a new resolution—either do what it takes to win or get us out. In Vietnam, nine years passed after the first U.S. servicemen were killed and more than 20,000 others died before a majority of Americans concluded we were on the wrong course. Opinion swung more quickly this time, as the cost-benefit analysis changed. When the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) weren't found and the Saddam-9/11 connection was discredited, the sense of urgent threat receded. However generous and idealistic Americans may be, a half-a-trillion-dollar nation-building venture is a harder case to make.

So support for the war thickens and thins as events unfold. While polls showed that 68% of Americans were in favor of the invasion three years ago, that figure fell as what looked like a quick victory stalled, rose when Saddam was pulled from his spider hole, sank with the sickening pictures from Abu Ghraib, but then rose again as Iraqis defied threats and went to the polls, setting an example for a region where free elections are about as common as leprechauns. In recent weeks the bombing of a Shi'ite shrine, the bodies dumped in shallow graves, the girls blown up on the way to school, the dwindling faith not in U.S. abilities and intentions but in Iraq's—all drove down support for the war again.

So was it worth it? In a Gallup poll last week, 60% of those surveyed said no. In the pages that follow, a diverse and international group of thinkers give their opinions. Many people approached by TIME refused to answer. Perhaps they share the view expressed last week in Sydney by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice: "I think the outcome, the judgment, of all of this needs to await history." —By Nancy Gibbs

#### WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

**No. Emphatically no.** Were we wrong to undertake what we did? The objectives were sound, but our reach proved insufficient to realize them.

Buckley is a conservative author and syndicated columnist

#### TOMMY FRANKS

**Yes. America remains very proud of and very thankful to our sons and daughters serving in Iraq and around the world in the cause of freedom.** The events of 9/11 taught us a valuable lesson: ignoring terrorism will not make the problem go away. The sacrifices of our military

members and their families are giving Iraqis a chance for freedom. And a free Iraq serves not only Iraqis. It will stand as a model in the Middle East, a model that represents to millions of people that there is an alternative to terrorism.

As chief of U.S. Central Command, General Franks, now retired, oversaw the invasion of Iraq

#### FRANCIS FUKUYAMA

**I believe that the balance sheet for the war at this moment is quite negative.** The war foreclosed the possibility of Saddam restarting his WMD programs and replaced his dictatorship with Iraq's new democracy—both real gains. Balanced against these gains are costs that go well beyond the direct human and financial ones. The occupation of Iraq has served as a tremendous stimulus for Arab and Muslim anti-Americanism and thus has made radical Islamist terrorism significantly worse than it would otherwise be. America's reputation around the world has taken a huge hit among ordinary people who are now more likely to associate our democracy with scenes of prisoner abuse than with the Statue of Liberty. We, of course, do not know what the future will bring, but the upside potential of Iraq's post-Saddam order looks more and more limited. The central state will remain

JAMES NACHWEY/REUTERS



weak for years to come, and where the Shi'ite parties have established their rule, we get not a liberal democracy but an Iranian-style rule by clerics.

Fukuyama is a professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the author of *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*

#### HISHAM KASSEM

**Sadly, I have to say yes. It is difficult to commend such a bloody scene.** But it achieved something useful. Parallel to the chaos and bloodshed, there is a political

#### HOW GULF WAR II COMPARES



Sources: Encyclopedia Americana; Facts on File

\*American combat troops were formally committed in 1964, although "military advisers" had fought covertly since the mid-'50s



#### DEFIANCE

Two members of the Shi'ite Mahdi Army, one of the U.S.'s well-armed enemies in Iraq

process evolving in Iraq. Bloodshed is the price of the transition from Saddam's psychopathic dictatorship. The losses would have been higher had Saddam stayed on. You could easily see that regime lasting another 30 years, under his sons and top generals. Negotiating with Iraq was not an option. There had to be a military intervention. You have a bloc of 22 countries in the Arab world dominated by authoritarianism and dictatorship. It is not a bloc you could engage politically and pressure for reform. By military intervention, the U.S. is able to pressure the region into adopting the reforms we are

beginning to see across the region that might avert many countries from becoming failed states. The world cannot put up with state failure in the backyard of the world's oil fields, Israel and Europe.

Democracy activist Kassem is vice chairman of the Egyptian daily news-paper Al-Masry al-Youm

#### BERNARD - HENRI LEVY

No. Because it was the wrong target: Iran and Pakistan are infinitely more threatening. Because it was the wrong approach: the neoconservatives, who put no stock in government policy at home and thus

can't do so abroad, produced no plans for democratic nation building. And, above all, because this war, which aimed to reduce the number and strength of terrorists, has instead increased them. What was needed was to break the infernal cycle of the "clash of civilizations," à la Sam Huntington and Osama bin Laden. Instead, the war breathed new life into it. In short, rarely have the famous words of Blaise Pascal rung more true: "He who would act the angel becomes the beast." What begins as a noble moral intention to bring down a tyrant becomes a political disaster and



a gigantic step backward in the long, necessary war against fascismism. A field of ruins!

*French philosopher Lévy is author of the recently published American Vertigo*

#### ANNE-MARIE SLAUGHTER

**Is the cause of freeing a people and pushing for progressive political and economic change in the most dangerous region in the world worth fighting and dying for?** Undoubtedly. But has this war—with its disdain for allies and institutions, its willful blindness to any scenario other than easy victory and immediate democracy, and its planners' irresponsibility so deep as to be immoral in failing to protect the heritage, infrastructure and lives of a people who never asked for war—been worth it? Squandering lives and vast sums of money through a combination of arrogance and negligence can never be worth it. And if the Administration had been willing to make a full and honest assessment of the true costs and the uncertainty of the benefits before invading Iraq, I doubt that a majority of the American people would have supported the war.

*Slaughter is the dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University*

#### LAWRENCE B. WILKERSON

**I'm principally a strategist, and from that perspective the war has been a disaster.**

First, the foremost winner has been Iran: it rid itself of its greatest threat, Saddam and his military, without firing a shot; won the Dec. 15 Iraq elections; owns the south, particularly Basra; and has felt the freedom to elect Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who, in turn, has felt the freedom to reclaim leadership of radical Islam, leadership Osama bin Laden claimed on 9/11. Second, the foremost loser—after Iraq itself—has been Israel, whose leaders must now fear more than ever the new strategic maneuver room afforded Iran by the U.S.'s ineptitude. Third, the general war against global terrorists has been affected greatly by the failure in Iraq. Recruiting among Muslim ranks has been

aided significantly, while America has squandered the upper hand in the world of ideas, which is the real battlefield of this conflict.

*U.S. Army Colonel Wilkerson, now retired, was chief of staff for Secretary of State Colin Powell*

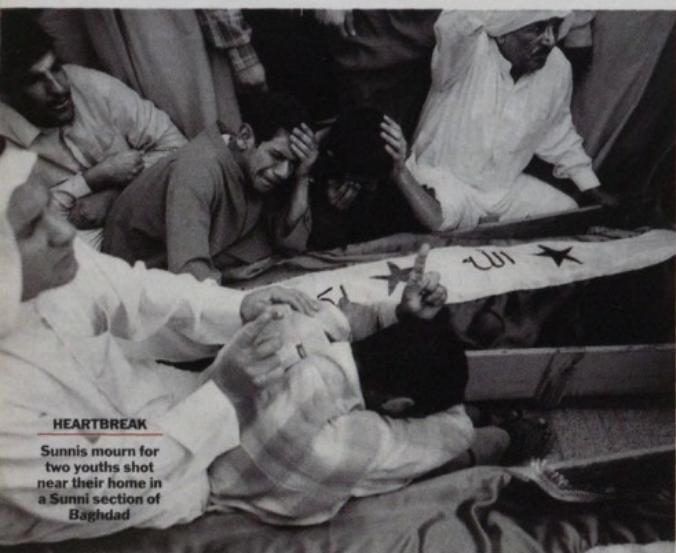
#### MICHAEL YOUNG

**Yes, Iraq was worth it, because it exposed more clearly than ever the brutal underpinnings of Arab nationalist rule.** From an Iraqi perspective, there is much uncertainty today but also no nostalgia for the savagery of Saddam's rule. From the U.S.'s perspective, the struggle to stabilize Iraq will discourage similar endeavors in the future, but the war also highlighted how subcontracting American interests in the Middle East to supposedly stable Arab dictatorships is no longer viable. The shoddy edifice that U.S. soldiers so quickly dismantled in Iraq is no less present in countries Washington considers allies. Iraq may or may not be the pivot of a regional democratic resurgence, but it is a reminder to Americans that much can be gained by challenging the debilitating status quo if the aftermath is gotten right. Unless democracy becomes a cornerstone of Washington's efforts, its alliances will seem more than ever built on a mountain of illegitimacy.

*Young is opinion editor at Lebanon's Daily Star newspaper*

**"THE OBJECTIVES WERE SOUND, BUT OUR REACH PROVED INSUFFICIENT TO REALIZE THEM."**

—WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.



#### HEARTBREAK

**Sunnis mourn for two youths shot near their home in a Sunni section of Baghdad**

#### BERNARD KOUCHNER

**No, because of the way Americans went about it.** I think it was up to the international community to pull together and get rid of Saddam for the Iraqi people. I have long argued for the "right to intervene." But you have to succeed. To do that, you need the international community standing with you. Saddam had been a major assassin in his country for 35 years. What difference would a few weeks have made? They should have done as we did in Kosovo, setting up a contact group and relying on international cooperation and peacekeepers.

*Kouchner, former U.N. administrator for Kosovo, co-founded France's Médecins Sans Frontières and Médecins du Monde*

#### CHIBLI MALLAT

**Yes, the U.S.-led war to get rid of the dictatorship was worth it for most Iraqis and for those who, like me, supported them against one of the most ruthless governments in modern history.** But for the young Marine from Oklahoma or the



## INHERITING THE FIGHT

**U.S.-trained Iraqi soldiers now stand guard at checkpoints like this one in Ramadi**

child in Iraq blown up this past week or the one before, it wasn't. Better things must obtain from the demise of Iraq's dictatorship, even if it is largely accepted now that the end of Saddam's rule represents a positive precedent for Iraq and the modern Middle East. Democratic Iraq, like democratic Germany or Japan, might make all the sacrifices less painful.

*Mallat is an Arab democracy campaigner and a candidate for Lebanese President*

### RICHARD HAASS

**After three years, my answer would be no, although any judgment at this point is necessarily an interim one.** The war has absorbed a tremendous amount of U.S. military capacity, the result being that the U.S. has far less spare or available capacity to use in the active sense or to exploit in the diplomatic sense. It has weakened our position against both North Korea and Iran. It has exacerbated U.S. fiscal problems. The war has also contributed to the world's alienation from the U.S. and made it more difficult to galvanize inter-

national support for U.S. policy toward other challenges. Iraq's legacy could also lead to renewed American public resistance to international involvement.

*Haass, a former aide to President George H.W. Bush, is president of the Council on Foreign Relations*

### KENNETH ROTH

**When this war started, human rights were only a very minor reason to enter Iraq.** Human rights became more of an after-the-fact justification only when it turned out that there were no WMD or prewar links to international terrorism. So, no, I don't think the war should have ever been or can now be justified as a successful humanitarian intervention. The extreme measure of military invasion should be reserved for stopping ongoing or imminent mass slaughter, and that wasn't happening in Iraq in March 2003. Humanitarian intervention might have been justified to stop the Anfal genocide in 1988 against the Kurds, but there was nothing like that going on in 2003. Clearly, Saddam was an awful dictator,

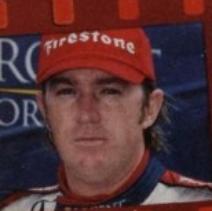
but there are many awful dictators in the world, and toppling an awful dictator, in my view, does not justify military intervention.

*Roth is the executive director of Human Rights Watch*

### DAVID M. KENNEDY

**From the outset, the war was a colossally bold and breathtakingly risky gamble. Unfortunately and unsurprisingly, the U.S. has failed to beat the odds.** Forget about WMD and links to al-Qaeda. The real purpose for invading Iraq was the extravagant ambition to transform the political culture of the entire Middle East. The Bush Administration bet American might and good intentions against the accumulated weight of centuries of religious rivalry, tribal tensions, wanton bloodletting and authoritarian rule. Even American hyperpower has proved no match for the burden of all that sorry history.

*Kennedy is a history professor at Stanford University and a 2000 Pulitzer Prize winner*



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Argent Mortgage



**Sam Hornish Jr.**  
Marlboro Team Penske



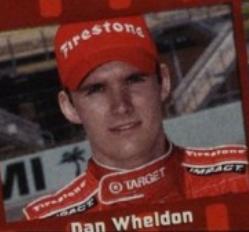
**Vitor Meira**  
Panther

## ALL EYES ON THE FINISH LINE.

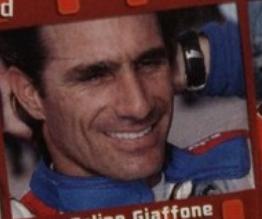
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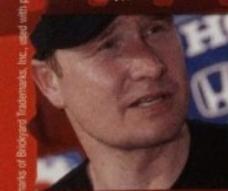
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### 2006 SCHEDULE



March 26	Homestead-Miami Speedway	RBC	March 26	Homestead-Miami Speedway	ESPN2
April 2	Streets of St. Petersburg	ESPN	April 1, 2	Streets of St. Petersburg	ESPN2
April 22	Twin Ring Motegi	ESPN	May 26	Indianapolis Motor Speedway	ESPN2
May 26	Indy 500*	RBC	July 1	Watkins Glen International	ESPN2
	Indianapolis Motor Speedway	RBC	July 15	Indianapolis Motor Speedway	ESPN2
June 4	Watkins Glen International	RBC	July 22	Nashville Superspeedway	ESPN2
June 10*	Texas Motor Speedway	ESPN	August 13	The Milwaukee Mile	ESPN2
June 24*	Richmond International Raceway	ESPN2	August 26, 27	Kentucky Speedway	ESPN2
July 2	Kansas Speedway	RBC	September 9	Infineon Raceway	ESPN2
July 15*	Nashville Superspeedway	ESPN		Chicagoland Speedway	ESPN2
July 23	The Milwaukee Mile	ESPN			
July 30	Michigan International Speedway	RBC			
August 13	Kentucky Speedway	RBC			
August 27	Infineon Raceway	ESPN			
September 10	Chicagoland Speedway	RBC			

\*Night Race. Please check your local TV listings  
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**SURVIVOR:** Emanuel, 9, says she saw U.S. troops kill seven family members

# One Morning in Haditha

U.S. Marines killed 15 Iraqi civilians in their homes last November. Was it self-defense, an accident or cold-blooded revenge? A TIME exclusive

By TIM McGIRK BAGHDAD

**T**HE INCIDENT SEEMED LIKE SO MANY OTHERS FROM THIS war, the kind of tragedy that has become numbingly routine amid the daily reports of violence in Iraq. On the morning of Nov. 19, 2005, a roadside bomb struck a humvee carrying Marines from Kilo Company, 3rd Battalion, 1st Marines, on a road near Haditha, a restive town in western Iraq. The bomb killed Lance Corporal Miguel (T.J.) Terrazas, 20, from El Paso, Texas. The next day a Marine communiqué from Camp Blue Diamond in Ramadi reported that Terrazas and 15 Iraqi civilians were killed by the blast and that "gunmen attacked the convoy with small-arms fire," prompting the Marines to return fire, killing eight insurgents and wounding one other. The Marines from Kilo Company held a memorial service for Terrazas at their camp in Haditha. They wrote messages like "T.J., you were a great friend. I'm going to miss seeing you around" on smooth stones and piled them in a funeral mound. And the war moved on.

But the details of what happened that morning in Haditha are more disturbing, disputed and horrific than the military initially reported. According to eyewitnesses and local officials interviewed over the past 10 weeks, the civilians who died in

Haditha on Nov. 19 were killed not by a roadside bomb but by the Marines themselves, who went on a rampage in the village after the attack, killing 15 unarmed Iraqis in their homes, including seven women and three children. Human-rights activists say that if the accusations are true, the incident ranks as the worst case of deliberate killing of Iraqi civilians by U.S. service members since the war began.

In January, after TIME presented military officials in Baghdad with the Iraqis' accounts of the Marines' actions, the U.S. opened its own investigation, interviewing 28 people, including the Marines, the families of the victims and local doctors. According to military officials, the inquiry acknowledged that,



**AFTERMATH:** Videotape given to TIME by a local human-rights group shows Iraqi civilians, some still in nightclothes, in body bags at a morgue

contrary to the military's initial report, the 15 civilians killed on Nov. 19 died at the hands of the Marines, not the insurgents. The military announced last week that the matter has been handed over to the Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS), which will conduct a criminal investigation to determine whether the troops broke the laws of war by deliberately targeting civilians. Lieut. Colonel Michelle Martin-Hing, spokeswoman for the Multi-National Force-Iraq, told TIME the involvement of the

## “I couldn’t see their faces well—only their guns. I watched them shoot my grandfather in the chest and in the head.” —EMAN WALEED

NCIS does not mean that a crime occurred. And she says the fault for the civilian deaths lies squarely with the insurgents, who “placed noncombatants in the line of fire as the Marines responded to defend themselves.”

Because the incident is officially under investigation, members of the Marine unit that was in Haditha on Nov. 19 are not allowed to speak with reporters. But the military’s own reconstruction of events and the accounts of town residents interviewed by TIME—including six whose family members were killed that day—paint a picture of a devastatingly violent response by a group of U.S. troops who had lost one of their own to a deadly insurgent attack and believed they were under fire. TIME obtained a videotape that purports to show the aftermath of the Marines’ assault and provides graphic documentation of its human toll. What happened in Haditha is a reminder of the horrors faced by civilians caught in the middle of war—and what war can do to the people who fight it.

**HERE'S WHAT ALL PARTICIPANTS AGREE ON:** AT AROUND 7:15 A.M. on Nov. 19, a U.S. humvee was struck by a powerful improvised explosive device (IED) attached to a large propane canister, triggered by remote control. The bomb killed Terrazas, who was driving, and injured two other Marines. For U.S. troops, Haditha, set among date-palm groves along the Euphrates River, was inhospitable territory; every day the Marines found scores of bombs buried in the dirt roads near their base. Eman Waleed, 9, lived in a house 150 yards from the site of the blast, which was strong enough to shatter all the windows in her home. “We heard a big noise that woke us all up,” she recalls two months later. “Then we did what we always do when there’s an explosion: my father goes into his room with the Koran and prays that the family will be spared any harm.” Eman says the rest of the family—her mother, grandfather, grandmother, two brothers, two aunts and two uncles—gathered in the living room.

According to military officials familiar with the investigation, the Marines say they came under fire from the direction of the Waleed house immediately after being hit by the IED. A group of

Marines headed toward the house. Eman says she “heard a lot of shooting, so none of us went outside. Besides, it was very early, and we were all wearing our nightclothes.” When the Marines entered the house, they were shouting in English. “First, they went into my father’s room, where he was reading the Koran,” she claims, “and we heard shots.” According to Eman, the Marines then entered the living room. “I couldn’t see their faces very well—only their guns sticking into the doorway. I watched them shoot my grandfather,

fir in the chest and then in the head. Then they killed my granny.” She claims the troops started firing toward the corner of the room where she and her younger brother Abdul Rahman, 8, were hiding; the other adults shielded the children from the bullets but died in the process. Eman says her leg was hit by a piece of metal and Abdul Rahman was shot near his shoulder. “We were lying there, bleeding, and it hurt so much. Afterward, some Iraqi soldiers came. They carried us in their arms. I was crying, shouting ‘Why did you do this to our family?’ And one Iraqi soldier tells me, ‘We didn’t do it. The Americans did.’”

TIME was unable to speak with the only other survivor of the raid, Eman’s younger brother, who relatives say is traumatized by



**TRIBUTE** A week after the fatal attack, Marines honor Terrazas

the experience. U.S. military officials familiar with the investigation say that after entering the house, the Marines walked into a corridor with closed doors on either side. They thought they heard the *clack-clack* sound of an AK-47 being racked and readied for fire. (Eman and relatives who were not in the house insist that no guns were there.) Believing they were about to be ambushed, the Marines broke down the two doors simultaneously and fired their weapons. The officials say the military has confirmed that seven people were killed inside the house—including two women and a child. The Marines also reported seeing a man and a woman run out of the house; they gave chase and shot and killed the man. Relatives say the woman, Hiba Abdullah, escaped with her baby.

According to military officials, the Marines say they then started taking fire from the direction of a second house, prompting them to break down the door of that house and throw in a grenade, blowing up a propane tank in the kitchen. The Marines then began firing, killing eight residents—including the owner, his wife, the owner’s sister, a 2-year-old son and three young daughters.

The Marines raided a third house, which belongs to a man named Ahmed Ayed. One of Ahmed’s five sons, Yousif, who lived



**LAST JOURNEY:** The video, taken by an Iraqi journalism student, shows bodies being moved from the morgue and placed on the back of a truck



SAID AL-SABEER/STR/CONTRASTPHOTO

**CASUALTIES** The bodies of the victims two days after the killings

in a house next door, told TIME that after hearing a prolonged burst of gunfire from his father's house, he rushed over. Iraqi soldiers keeping watch in the garden prevented him from going in. "They told me, 'There's nothing you can do. Don't come closer, or the Americans will kill you too.' The Americans didn't let anybody into the house until 6:30 the next morning," Ayed says that by then the bodies were gone; all the dead had been zipped into U.S. body bags and taken by Marines to a local hospital morgue. "But we could tell from the blood tracks across the floor what happened," Ayed claims. "The Americans gathered my four brothers and took them inside my father's bedroom, to a closet. They killed them inside the closet."

The military has a different account of what transpired. According to officials familiar with the investigation, the Marines broke into the third house and found a group of 10 to 15 women and children. The troops say they left one Marine to guard that house and pushed on to the house next door, where they found four men, one of whom was wielding an AK-47. A second seemed to be reaching into a wardrobe for another weapon, the officials say. The Marines shot both men dead; the military's initial report does not specify how the other two men died. The Marines deny that any of the men were killed in the closet, which they say is too small to fit one adult male, much less four.

According to the military officials, the series of raids took five hours and left at least 23 people dead. In all, two AK-47s were discovered. The military has classified the 15 victims in the first two houses as noncombatants. It considers the four men killed in the fourth house, as well as four youths killed by the Marines near the site of the roadside bombing, as enemy fighters. The question facing naval detectives is whether the Marines' killing of 15 noncombatants was an act of legitimate self-defense or negligent homicide. Military sources say that if the NCIS finds evidence of wrongdoing, U.S. commanders in Iraq will decide whether to pursue legal action against the Marines.

The available evidence does not provide conclusive proof that the Marines deliberately killed innocents in Haditha. But the accounts of human-rights groups that investigated the incident and survivors and local officials who spoke to TIME do raise questions about whether the extent of force used by the Marines was justified—and whether the Marines were initially candid about what took place. Dr. Wahid, director of the local hospital in Haditha, who asked that his family name be withheld be-

cause, he says, he fears reprisals by U.S. troops, says the Marines brought 24 bodies to his hospital around midnight on Nov. 19. Wahid says the Marines claimed the victims had been killed by shrapnel from the roadside bomb. "But it was obvious to us that there were no organs slashed by shrapnel," Wahid says. "The bullet wounds were very apparent. Most of the victims were shot in the chest and the head—from close range."

A day after the incident, a Haditha journalism student videotaped the scene at the local morgue and at the homes where the killings had occurred. The video was obtained by the Hammurabi Human Rights Group, which cooperates with the internationally respected Human Rights Watch, and has been shared with TIME. The tape makes for grisly viewing. It shows that many of the victims, especially the women and children, were still in their nightclothes when they died. The scenes from inside the houses show that the walls and ceilings are pockmarked with shrapnel and bullet holes as well as the telltale spray of blood. But the video does not reveal the presence of any bullet holes on the outside of the houses, which may cast doubt on the Marines' contention that after the IED exploded, the Marines and the insurgents engaged in a fierce gunfight.

There are also questions about why the military took so long to investigate the details of the Haditha incident. Soon after the killings, the mayor of Haditha, Emad Jawad Hamza, led an angry delegation of elders up to the Marine camp beside a dam on the Euphrates River. Hamza says, "The captain admitted that his men had made a mistake. He said that his men

## Accounts of survivors and local officials raise questions about whether the Marines were initially candid about what took place

thought there were terrorists near the houses, and he didn't give any other reason."

But the military stood by its initial contention—that the Iraqis had been killed by an insurgent bomb—until January when TIME gave a copy of the video and witnesses' testimony to Colonel Barry Johnson, a U.S. military spokesman in Baghdad. After reviewing the evidence, Johnson passed it on to the military command, suggesting that the events of Haditha be given "a full and formal investigation." In February an infantry colonel went to Haditha for a weeklong probe in which he interviewed Marines, survivors and doctors at the morgue, according to military officials close to the investigation. The probe concluded that the civilians were in fact killed by Marines and not by an insurgent's bomb and that no insurgents appeared to be in the first two houses raided by the Marines. The probe found, however, that the deaths were the result of "collateral damage" rather than malicious intent by the Marines, investigators say.

The U.S. has paid relatives of the victims \$2,500 for each of the 15 dead civilians, plus smaller payments for the injured. But nothing can bring back all that was taken from 9-year-old Eman Waleed on that fateful day last November. She still does not comprehend how, when her father went in to pray with the Koran for the family's safety, his prayers were not answered, as they had been so many times in the past. "He always prayed before, and the Americans left us alone," she says. Leaving, she grabs a handful of candy. "It's for my little brother," she says. "I have to take care of my brother. Nobody else is left." —With reporting by Aparisim Ghosh/Baghdad



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- e-mails sent and received
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- everything else the hacker was able to access from over 100 miles away

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**Using a wireless network?  
Make sure you're not sharing information  
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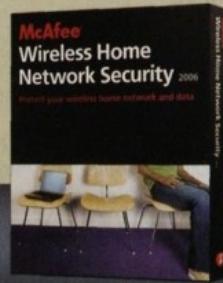
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JEROME DESRÉS FOR TIME (2)

## LETTER FROM PARIS

James Graff

## The Revenge of the Not-So-Radicals

A massive student strike shows why the French aren't what they used to be

**A**H, TO BREATHE THE FINE air of France!" As he spoke in mock heroic tones last week, Sayed Diakite, 19, a student from the banlieues south of Paris, was smiling gleefully and weeping at the same time. Like hundreds of other young people boxed in by riot police between the Bon Marché department store and the Hotel Lutetia in the heart of the Left Bank, Diakite was choking in air pungent with tear gas and smoke from a burning newspaper kiosk. Amid the uproar, he and his fellow students felt a budding—and maybe false—sense of empowerment. Could half a million young people in the streets throughout France bring an embattled government to its knees?

It wouldn't be the first time. France is in another bout of revolt against its government, with familiar theatrical brio. For weeks, France's uni-

versities have been on strike. The Sorbonne, the iconic epicenter of the May 1968 student revolts that ushered in a new era in France, has been closed for the past two weeks. At issue this time are not the heady concerns of 1968:

Vietnam, Mao, Foucault and free love. The rallying point is far less stirring: a law backed by Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin that is meant to reduce France's chronic and debilitating youth unemployment, which stands at 22%—and at more than 40% in the poorer banlieues that exploded in rioting last fall. The new law allows employers to fire workers under age 26 within two years of hiring them—



**HEADY** A protester denounces the new law

without cause and with no obligation to shell out severance payments. Making it easier to fire workers, the government believes, will help employers overcome a reluctance to hire them in the first place.

The law has hit a raw nerve in a French society deeply attached to the idea that a job is forever. A poll last week found that more than two-thirds of the population—and more than 80% of the young people whom the law aims to help—want the government to rescind it. The most agitated of them flocked to the Sorbonne last week and hurled anything they could tear loose—metal barricades, a camera tripod and dozens of Parisian café chairs—at the shields of riot police. A Mercedes was flipped over, and a Renault set alight; Minis were tossed about like toys.

THE BOURGEOISIE TO THE GULAG! read a graffiti. To the surface already. "Every generation we have a war, a revolt or a revolution," he says. "That's how we recycle our élite." Riding at the top of preliminary polls for the presidency are Sarkozy and Socialist Ségolène Royal, who both support greater labor-market flexibility. That might not win them friends at the Sorbonne. But the fine air of France can't resist the winds of change forever.

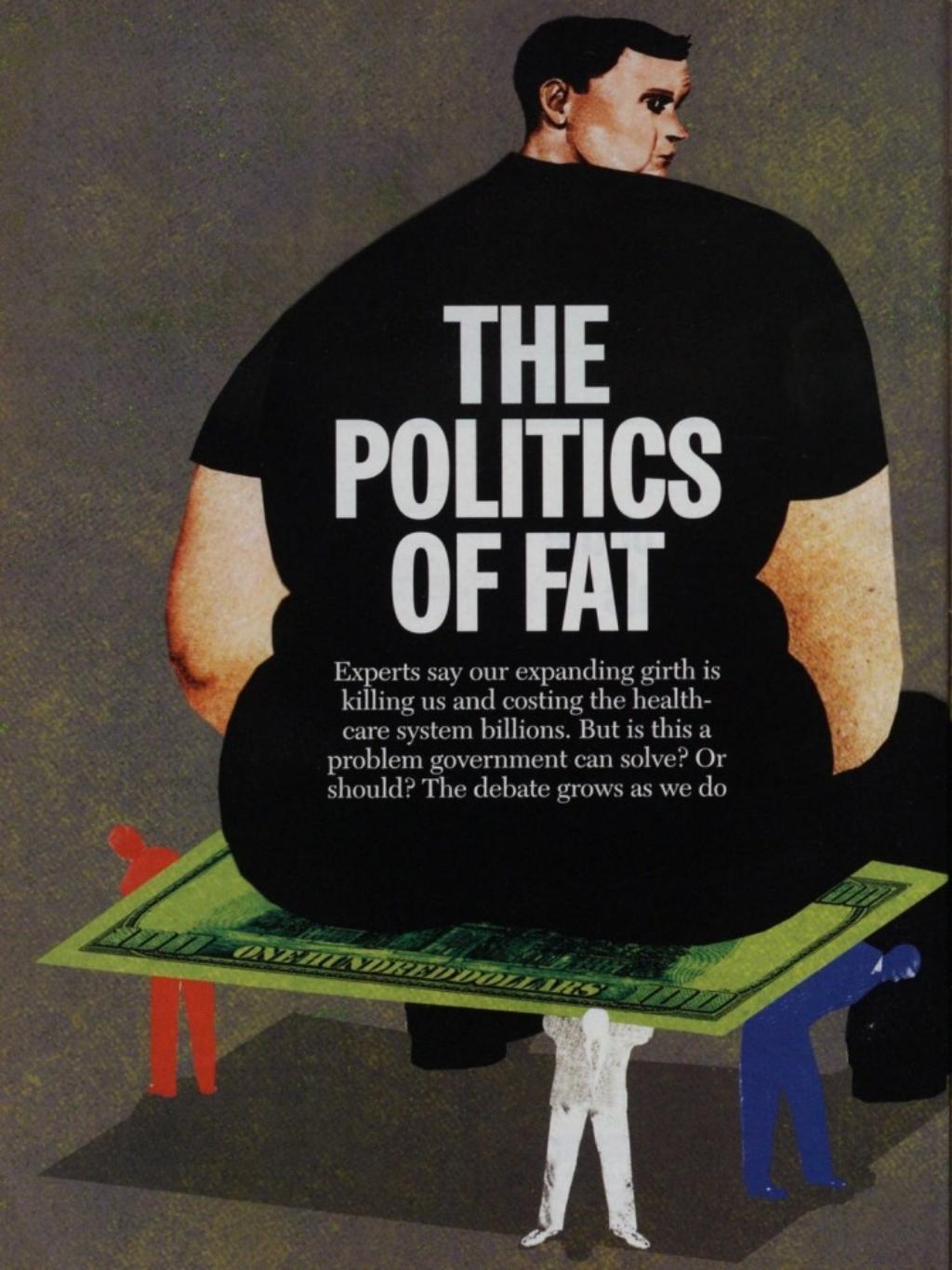
### BARRICADES French police brace for battle in Paris

not here. France wants no part in a race to the bottom."

That's a noble sentiment, but lurking beneath it is something darker: a deep fear of change. "French youth of 2006 are the exact opposites of those behind May '68," says Dominique Moïsi, deputy director of the French Institute on International Relations. "Today's demonstrators are in a very real manner reactionaries, rejecting any prospect of more risk."

The outpouring of opposition is the latest challenge to the government of Villepin, already damaged by the rioting last fall. Villepin has vowed to stand up to the protesters, a move that many commentators see as a bid to display toughness in anticipation of a possible showdown with his right-wing rival, Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy, in next year's presidential election. But hanging on to a deeply unpopular policy won't help Villepin—whose personal approval rating has sunk to the mid-30s—or the rest of his party. His best hope, Moïsi suggests, might be that the Socialist opposition wins a court challenge to the employment law, allowing it to die without his fingerprints.

But that would leave the larger problem unanswered: how to change France. André Glucksmann, a veteran of the 1968 protests, says things may be churning beneath the surface already. "Every generation we have a war, a revolt or a revolution," he says. "That's how we recycle our élite." Riding at the top of preliminary polls for the presidency are Sarkozy and Socialist Ségolène Royal, who both support greater labor-market flexibility. That might not win them friends at the Sorbonne. But the fine air of France can't resist the winds of change forever.



# THE POLITICS OF FAT

Experts say our expanding girth is killing us and costing the health-care system billions. But is this a problem government can solve? Or should? The debate grows as we do

By KAREN TUMULTY

**T**HESE ARE FAT TIMES IN POLITICS. LITERALLY. NEARLY 400 OBESITY-RELATED bills were introduced in state legislatures across the country last year—more than double the number in 2003. A quarter of them were passed into law, up from only 12% two years before. In Washington the word obesity appears in 56 bills introduced during the current Congress; this, the *Wall Street Journal* points out, is fast catching up with the number containing the word gun. Surgeon General Richard Carmona says obesity is a greater threat than terrorism. Some public-health advocates have begun urging the government to put a warning label on soft drinks; others are calling for a “fat tax” on fast food.

When voters and the possibility of big public spending are involved, you can be sure the politicians will discover a problem. The stats are depressingly familiar: more than 60% of us are overweight, and the percentage of us who are considered obese has nearly doubled since 1980. Health-care spending attributable to obesity reached \$75 billion in 2003, by some estimates, with taxpayers shelling out more than half of that through

Medicare and Medicaid programs. Last month Medicare increased its financial obligation to the problem by announcing it would cover bariatric surgery, a procedure aimed at weight loss that generally costs \$25,000 for a simple case. Government researchers estimate that obesity is associated with anywhere from 100,000 to 300,000 deaths a year.

Most alarming of all, the rates of obesity among children and teens have tripled in the past 25 years. Health-care providers say they are seeing something of an epidemic of potentially lethal Type 2 diabetes, once known as the adult-onset version of the disease, among children as young as 10 and 11. “Without some intervention, this is the first generation of young Americans, being born today, who are expected to have a shorter life span than their parents or grandparents,” says Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee, a Republican, who wrote a book about his 110-lb. weight loss and made a healthy America his top priority as chairman of the National Governors Association. That prediction of diminishing life expectancy was published last year in the *New England Journal of Medicine* by a group of university researchers; other experts have disputed it as overly dire.

Huckabee, who is a possible 2008 presidential contender, has given state employees in Arkansas exercise breaks instead of smoking breaks. The state's public school children are screened for their body mass index, an indirect measure of body fat, and confidential reports are mailed to their parents. Huckabee wants to experiment with a system in which



**CRUSADERS** Huckabee, Clinton and a girl who weighs as much as Huckabee lost launch a bid to fight obesity in kids

food stamps would be worth more if they were spent on healthy purchases like fruits and vegetables.

Nearly every state has taken some steps on obesity, mostly centered on children. In the past year, Arizona set nutritional standards for all food and beverages sold on school grounds. California banned the sale of junk food as snacks in schools starting next year. Kentucky requires students to engage in vigorous physical activity for 30 minutes a day or 150 minutes a week and next year will prohibit its schools from serving that staple of Southern cuisine, deep-fried foods. Maryland plans to put timing devices on school vending machines to limit access

during school hours. Many states plan to make nutrition instruction part of their curriculums.

There are certain to be more new rules. For the Governors' winter meeting in Washington a few weeks ago, Huckabee, who opened the conference by leading some of his fellow Governors and their staffs on a 5K run, invited a former fat kid who is also a quadruple-bypass patient to speak. Bill Clinton related to the problem of weight in typical feel-your-pain fashion. The two Arkansas pols, longtime adversaries, have joined together to work toward halting the rise in childhood obesity by 2010 and reversing it by 2015. “Look at Huckabee,” Clinton told the Governors. “You’ve got to consume less and burn more. There is no other alternative. And to do that, you’ve got to change the culture.”

But how? Embarrass Americans into saying no to that second helping of cheesecake? Taxing calories? Hauling the corporate chiefs of Frito-Lay and Coca-

# WEIGHTY MATTERS

Obesity is dramatically on the rise, as Americans eat more and become less active. The extra pounds mean increased risk of such ailments as diabetes and heart disease



Cola before a congressional committee, as happened in 1994 with the heads of seven tobacco companies, and suing them? There have been many instances in which government has either rallied a majority to rescue a group of suffering Americans, as in the War on Poverty, or tried to push Americans out of unhealthy and expensive bad habits, including smoking, littering, drunk driving and failing to wear seat belts. All involved some combination of education, cultural change, legal penalties and old-fashioned shame.

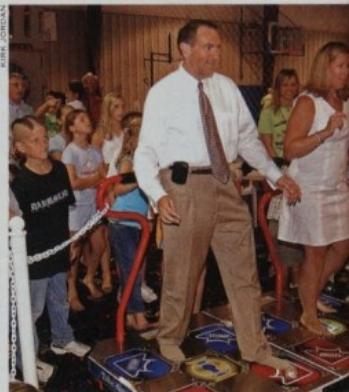
But obesity does not evoke deprivation, and it's more complicated than a bad habit: it involves food. The old messages won't work, says veteran Democratic operative Michael Berman, whose new memoir, *Living Large*, chronicles his struggles to come to terms with being fat. "This is different from second-hand smoke, where you can have a program of abstinence. You can give up smoking. You can't give up eating."

Berman warns that even the best anti-obesity programs won't produce the gratification that politicians like best: quick results. That's because our growing waistlines are a product of so much else that is happening in the U.S. Researchers say it's not a coincidence that the obesity epidemic has coincided with a growth in the number of

working parents who have less time to prepare meals from fresh foods; technologies that make it possible to mass-produce packaged and fast foods in cheap, enormous portions; financially strapped schools getting rid of their physical-education programs and playgrounds even as they allow vending machines and food advertising in their buildings; and computer and television programs that ensnare kids who might otherwise be playing outside.

Even larger economic forces may play a role. "It seems to be inextricably bound up with ... stagnant wages in the global economy," Clinton told the Governors. "The price of everything has gone up except food. Food is still a good deal in America." Rates of childhood obesity are worst among the poor and are a particular challenge in immigrant communities—in part because there's no cheaper dose of assimilation than a trip to Burger King. The New York Times Magazine reported that a couple of years ago, after administrators trimmed fat and sugar from menus at schools in Rio Grande City, Texas, along the Mexican border, students staged lunchroom protests, hanging signs that read NO MORE DIET AND WE WANT TO EAT COOL STUFF—PIZZA, NACHOS, BURRITOS.

Where government fits into finding a solution is a matter of no small dispute.



## FRONTS IN THE FAT WARS

As state and federal officials look for solutions to obesity, the food industry tries to get ahead of them, partly to fend off courts and regulators



After all, it's not like Americans don't have an inkling why they are getting fat. "People who are overweight know it," says Huckabee. "The denial is different from a lot of denials. We don't deny that it's there. We deny that it affects us."

That's why there are plenty who argue that the blame—and the answer—must lie squarely with fat people themselves. When Iowa Senator Tom Harkin, a Democrat, attacked junk food in schools two years ago, then Democratic Senator Zell Miller, whose home state of Georgia is the location of Coca-Cola headquarters, scoffed, "Our kids are not obese because of what they are eating in our lunchrooms at school. They are obese, frankly, because they sit around on their duffs watching TV and playing video games, and to do something about that requires the role of the parents, not the role of the Federal Government." His Georgia colleague, Republican Saxby Chambliss, was equally dismissive of Harkin's plan to set federal nutrition guidelines for schools: "We would be a lot better off to spend that \$6 million to educate children about what they ought to eat, both in school and out of school, and if we think that by cutting them off at school they are not going to go to the 7-Eleven as

soon as school is out and pick up these items, then we are kidding ourselves." There was a none-too-subtle message in the title of Republican-sponsored legislation aimed at protecting the food industry from obesity-related lawsuits: the Personal Responsibility in Food Consumption Act of 2005. Nicknamed the Cheeseburger Bill, it passed last October, with yeas outnumbering nays 2 to 1.

Mindful of anything that may look like the heavy hand of a nanny state at work, George W. Bush's Administration has focused its anti-obesity efforts primarily on public education. Former Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson wore a pedometer to tout his department's Small Step initiative. But pressure for bigger strides is building. Says Harkin: "This is not just a personal problem. It's a public-health problem." He wants the Agriculture Department to regulate all food—not just meals—being served in schools. The rules now are set at the state and local levels, with widely varying standards, although the torrent of state legislation suggests that everyone is looking to go healthier. Harkin and others want to give the Federal Trade Commission more say over the \$10 billion a year that the food industry spends advertising to children. Some in Congress are pushing to require nutritional labeling on restaurant menus, as was done for packaged foods. There are restaurants that print the information voluntarily, but the restaurant lobby opposes requiring it.

Meanwhile, food companies are trying to get out in front of the issue. McDonald's did away with supersizing. Coca-Cola no longer advertises on television programs aimed at viewers younger than age 12. In its ads on children's television, Kraft pitches white-meat chicken Lunchables rather than Oreos. Food packaging, from

mac-and-cheese to soup and pancake mix, offers tips for more healthful preparation.

Big Food is eager not to repeat the mistakes of Big Tobacco, and it knows that self-regulation is one way to keep the government from stepping in. What worries the food industry most are the lawsuits that have begun to move through the courts, often going where politicians fear to tread. One key question is whether public-health advocates will succeed in sticking the food industry with one of the charges that damned the tobacco business: that its executives knowingly harmed the health of the public—especially children—with their marketing tactics. Of course, Big Tobacco had the additional problem that its products are clearly addictive.

Plaintiffs against food companies have had some initial setbacks—in courts of law and in the court of public opinion. People snickered when two New York teenagers—one whose regular diet consisted of two Big Mac or Chicken McNugget meals a day and another who usually ate a Happy Meal or a Big Mac three or four times a week—sued McDonald's, claiming it had made them morbidly fat. A federal judge tossed out their case in 2003. But last year an appeals court revived it and allowed discovery, an unsettling development for food companies because it could open up their marketing strategies to public scrutiny. Around the country, state attorneys general, encouraged by their success in wringing billions from the tobacco companies, have the food industry in their sights, says Rogan Kersh, a Syracuse University political-science professor who argues that the political forces arrayed against the two industries show striking similarities.

The food fight seems certain to get bitter, whether it is ultimately fought in the courts or the legislatures or on the floors of Congress. But there is one thing on which all sides can agree: nothing will work until Americans are persuaded to change the choices they are making for themselves and their children. While some will say the government shouldn't have to pick up the tab for what people are doing to themselves, Huckabee insists that everyone should recognize that it already is. "It's not just about coddling people," he says. "It's truly about making good business decisions. The return on investment is significant when you put the focus on health and wellness as opposed to putting the focus on treating disease."

**MOVING IT:**  
Huckabee, at a  
sports complex  
in Texarkana,  
Texas, shows  
one way to burn  
calories



FRANK STEPHENSON FOR TIME

**TRACKING IT:**  
Nurse Cheryl  
Frank of  
Harrisburg, Pa.,  
calculates a  
kindergartner's  
body mass index

**KNOWING IT:**  
McDonald's is  
putting nutrition  
info, in the  
format shown,  
directly on food  
packaging



**SHOWING IT:**  
Ads from  
the federal  
Department  
of Health  
and Human  
Services' Small  
Step campaign  
suggest ways  
to achieve a  
slimmer figure



# A Legal Loose Cannon

How does a government lawyer on the Moussaoui case commit a blunder so basic in a trial so big?

By DOUGLAS WALLER

**T**HE ROOTS OF THE BUNGLE seem to come down to this: Carla Martin, a government lawyer with a small role in the sentencing trial of confessed 9/11 conspirator Zacarias Moussaoui, thought the chief of the prosecution team was overplaying his hand. In his opening statement, Assistant U.S. Attorney Robert Spencer argued that if Moussaoui had told the FBI what he knew about the 9/11 plot in advance, authorities "would have prevented" the hijackings and thousands of lives could have been saved. Martin, 51, a veteran in the aviation field, thought defense attorneys could "drive a truck" through that assertion, as she later e-mailed a scheduled witness in the case. Thus she took it upon herself to coach that witness and six other current or former government aviation experts scheduled to testify in ways to fend off the opposing lawyers.

While experienced litigators know how to prep witnesses without crafting their testimony, Martin crossed a line, informing her experts what she would tell the jury and feeding them transcripts from the trial in violation of an explicit order from U.S. District Judge Leonie Brinkema. It was no small mistake. When Brinkema found out, she angrily barred all aviation-security witnesses from testifying—experts prosecutors were counting on to make their case that had Moussaoui shared what he knew, officials could have prevented 9/11, and since he didn't, he should be executed.

How could such a high-profile case have been handled so sloppily? Certainly Martin, a lawyer for the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), was never meant to be a player.

In court documents filed after the blowup, prosecutors painted her as a misguided "miscreant" with only a bit part in the government's case preparation—arranging witness interviews and retrieving aviation documents for prosecutors. A former flight

attendant who followed her father into law, Martin developed a reputation for tenaciousness both at the TSA and, before that, at the Federal Aviation Administration, where she started working even before she graduated from law school. But she did hardly any litigating in court. Her work was focused more on administrative matters. For instance, when sensitive aviation-security issues came up in the civil suit brought against Pan Am by families of those who died in the Flight 103 bombing, she advised the presiding judge



**MOUSSAOUI**  
Prosecutors say  
he should die for  
not helping to  
stop 9/11

on whether to clear the courtroom. When she started delving into criminal trial tactics, say colleagues, she was simply out of her element.

Martin's coaching of the Moussaoui witnesses was discovered when one of them became so put off by her persistent e-mails that she showed them to prosecutors, who then informed the judge of Martin's misconduct. "In all my years on the bench, I've never seen a more egregious violation of the rule about witnesses," Brinkema said. She warned Martin that she may face criminal charges. Martin, who has been placed on paid administrative leave by the TSA, wouldn't comment. Her mother, Jean Martin Lay, told TIME that her daughter is "really devastated" by the accusations. Martin's lawyer, Roscoe Howard, claims that prosecutors have unfairly "vilified" her and that her side of the story, which he says she is preparing, "will show a very different, full picture of her intentions."

Moussaoui, 37, a French Moroccan who was detained about a month before the 9/11 attacks, has pleaded guilty to conspiring with al-Qaeda to hijack planes, but denies direct involvement in the 9/11 plot, claiming that he was preparing for a future attack instead. If he is not executed, he faces life imprisonment.

Prosecutors were counting on the witnesses barred by Brinkema to explain to jurors how airport security could have been increased had Moussaoui come clean with FBI agents who interrogated him before 9/11.

In the end, prosecutors managed to persuade the judge to let them present to the jury a new set of aviation experts who have had no contact with Martin. But the case for executing Moussaoui remains tenuous. Legal experts, and even Brinkema, have questioned whether prosecutors are overreaching in arguing that he should be put to death for what he did not do. Martin, in one of her e-mails, said she doubted that airport screeners could have detected all the short-blade knives the hijackers took aboard, even if Moussaoui had told agents before 9/11 what he knew. Of course, that is an opinion that prosecutors wish she had kept to herself. —With reporting by Sally B. Donnelly/Washington

TIME  
BONUS SECTION

APRIL 2006

GLOBAL BUSINESS

# Twilight In Italy

What happens when a traditional European industry faces Asian competition? A crisis. Welcome to Manzano, Italy's chair capital

Manzano's giant 23-ton chair is a reminder of the town's more prosperous times



BY PETER GUMBEL

**L**THE BIGGEST CHAIR IN THE WORLD STANDS SEVEN stories tall, weighs almost 23 tons and is found just to the left of the second traffic light in the tiny town of Manzano (pop. 7,000) in the northeastern corner of Italy near the Slovenian border. The red pine monument is not some avant-garde artistic statement. It's an oversize acknowledgment by the community of the industry that brought

immense prosperity to Manzano and 10 small burgs around it over the past half-century. Known as the "chair triangle" (*il triangolo della sedia*), this district every year produces as many as 40 million chairs of all shapes and sizes—typically of beech and oak wood—for offices, homes, hotels, cruise ships, hospitals and restaurants around the world. Locals like to boast that the district in its heyday made 1 of every 3 chairs sold. The demand provided ample work for a tight-knit network of 1,100 highly specialized small firms. And it transformed a once modest rural area into one of Italy's richest and most dynamic commercial zones, a district with virtually full employment and a chronic shortage of skilled labor. "We were the China of Europe," boasts Giulio Focacci, an entrepreneur who makes machine tools for chair manufacturers.

But these days, the real China is making Manzano's prosperity as precarious as a two-legged stool. In a perfect example of globalization at work, ferocious competition from Chinese manufacturers is snatching away Manzano's customers—and its life. Over the past three years, about 200 Manzano companies have closed, and a worrisome number of the remaining 900 are struggling. The cheap labor isn't just in China. Sawmills have moved to Croatia, Poland and Romania, where an increasing amount of prefabrication is carried out.

Manzano's once dominant share of the

market for no-frills office swivel chairs has collapsed because Chinese producers churn them out with almost the same quality at a fraction of the cost. Now the Chinese are stepping up to more sophisticated chairs in wood and leather too. Talk about "the crisis" is ubiquitous in Manzano—even the executives of thriving companies are worried that the unique industrial fabric of the area is fraying. "We see people with tears in their eyes, not knowing what to do next," says Simone

Focacci, manager of one of Manzano's three principal banks.

Valerio and Lucio Minin are two of those shedding tears. During the 1990s, the company their father founded a half-century ago, Mininsiedie, produced up to 500,000 chairs annually. But last year Mininsiedie made just 130,000. Revenues have declined 50% in two years, and with losses mounting, the Minin brothers recently laid off five of their 15 employees. "The situation here is tragic," says Valerio, 51. "I just don't know how we're going to continue. You keep banging your head against the wall, and either the wall falls—or you do."

Italy is the sick man of Europe these days—it's economy has shrunk 4% since 1999, after adjusting for inflation—and the predicament of the chair triangle helps explain why. Along with Germany and France, the nation has been struggling with weak



## The economic structure

consumer spending, waning productivity and rising government deficits. But unlike its neighbors, Italy lacks large robust corporations that can export their way out of trouble. Many of the thousands of small and medium-size companies that once gave the Italian economy its flexibility and dynamism are poorly equipped to deal with the challenges of a fast-changing world. Most don't have the scale, the funding or the commercial know-how to become global players. What they produce is beautiful, but it's neither particularly sophisticated nor difficult to replicate. In other words, Italy's economic structure is almost perfectly composed for an attack by China, which excels in moderately sophisticated manufacturing and can turn out products far cheaper than is possible in Western Europe. In sector after sector—from textiles to shoes to furniture—companies have been losing ground.

When Italian manufacturers ran into competitive problems in the past, there used to be an easy fix: currency devaluation, which made Italian exports cheaper relative to those of other countries. But that solution is no longer available, because Italy swapped the lira for the euro, which has risen against most other currencies, including the dollar.



◀ The Minin brothers are using new strategies to save the business their father founded 50 years ago

goes back centuries. An 8th century altar in nearby Cividale contains the first trace of chairmaking. During the Renaissance, local carvers and carpenters from the region had their hands full with orders from Venice, 75 miles away. Production of chairs for the masses began in the 1800s, but the real boom came after World War II. Big distributors, primarily from Germany, discovered the local craftsmanship and started buying in bulk, turning Manzano chairs into a \$1 billion-a-year business. To cope with the demand, the number of firms grew tenfold as highly specialized artisans set up their own shops, supplying individual parts to their neighbors, who would then work them into the next stage of the manufacturing process. One artisan would do just leather upholstery, for example, or specialize in varnishes. The highly decentralized industrial structure, a type of extreme outsourcing network, is quite common in Italy. By one esti-

## of Italy is almost perfectly composed for an aggressive attack by China

"We used to say small is beautiful, but that's no longer true," says Adalberto Valduga, president of the regional chamber of commerce in nearby Udine, the provincial capital. While the strong euro is penalizing firms, he says the real challenge is a more fundamental one: "We need to change our way of thinking." The International Monetary Fund agrees. It recently castigated Italy's economic policies and said the nation's waning competitiveness was due to "deep-seated inefficiencies" as much as to foreign competition. China, in fact, overtook Italy last year as the world's fourth largest economy.

The Manzano entrepreneurs know they can't compete on price. But if they can find a way to carve out an upmarket niche for themselves—as the most successful chairmakers are doing—there's every reason to believe that Europeans and Chinese can coexist and flourish, building on their respective strengths. Several Manzano chairmakers are already looking to China as a market where they can both buy and sell. "Nobody can stop the Chinese anymore," says Lucio Zamò, one of the few remaining successful manufacturers of office chairs in the district. Zamò has been able to cut expenses by building chairs using imported Chinese aluminum



bases, which cost 40% less than Italian ones.

If Manzano is to recover its mojo, the chair triangle's entrepreneurs know that they—and not politicians wielding protective tariffs—will be the ones to find it. "This is a moment of maturation," says Fanin, the machine-tool manufacturer, who recently laid off six of his 15 workers. "You can't compete on price. You need to believe in the company and innovate. There's no third way."

Manzano's claim to be the chair capital

mate, there are about 100 such industrial clusters in the country, producing shoes, clothes and even some food products.

The flexibility of such clusters is sometimes held up as a model by experts on economic development such as Harvard Business School professor Michael E. Porter. But the system has proved vul-

▲ Small family firms helped Manzano dominate chairmaking for decades

# PIGS AND PUCCINI

From 200 B.C. to the fall of Rome, the Chinese and Roman empires were the world's two great civilizations. They knew each other only from afar. Marco Polo bridged the gap in the 13th century, but when he published his *Travels* in 1299, many Italians found his descriptions of China too weird to be true. Pity, the Chinese and Italians have much in common.

## NOODLE NATIONS

The discovery of 4,000-year-old spaghetti in northwestern China this year probably closes the centuries-old debate over which culture invented noodles.

But Italy gets credit for adding Parmesan.



## THEY LOVE THEIR MOTHERS!

In both countries, a mother is a boy's best friend—even when the boys are in their 40s.



## THEY LOVE THEIR PIGS TOO!

Italians and Chinese have long known how to eat everything in a pig but the squeal. And if Europeans think that Parma or San Daniele defines hog heaven, they haven't tried a Yunnan ham. Chinese salami, alas, needs some help.



## IT'S NOT OVER UNTIL ...

The most enduring operas in the world are Italian and Chinese. China has the better makeup, Italy the more hummable tunes. Crossover moment: *Turandot*.



nerable to an onslaught of international competition. About 90% of the firms in the district have fewer than 20 employees, while just a dozen have more than 50, according to a study by Professor Roberto Grandinetti of the University of Padua. Local bankers say all but a few are sorely undercapitalized and lack the resources to build their business to a global scale. And virtually no one has much experience selling to customers other than the big German distributors that once snapped up as much as 70% of the district's output. Says Giovanni Masarotti, president of the Manzano chair district and chief executive of Montina, one of its oldest firms: "If I say three companies have true marketing departments, I'm exaggerating."

Nor is there protection in design capability, which has long been an Italian strength. Chairs are easily copied. Manzano's entrepreneurs complain that Chinese manufacturers simply steal what they find in catalogs and on websites. The Italians insist they still have an edge in quality—especially with chairs made out of fine wood or upholstered in top-quality leather—and in their ability to tailor production to customers like the hotel industry. But even there the Chinese are muscling in.

How can the Italians fight back? Alessandro Calligaris has a blunt answer: "We have to win the loyalty of our customers." He is 60, with a fuzz of white hair and a reputation as the most successful businessman in the chair triangle. His company, the namesake Calligaris, was started by his grandfather in 1923 and is still growing. Revenues last year rose 12%, to \$140 million. His first big insight, more than a decade ago, was to figure out that the future lay beyond chairs. The Calligaris furnishing collection, sold under the slogan "Italian Living," last year included sofas and beds for the first time, as well as shelves, tables and, of course, chairs. One big shift came in 2000 when the firm began buying and processing its wood in Croatia, at a plant near the forests where it's cut. Calligaris switched some of the upholstery work to Bosnia, where wages are one-tenth of those in Italy. And he has put a relentless focus on making his own branded products rather than manufacturing for other companies. In 1997, 35% of the firm's output was of no-name furniture; today it's 1.5%. The firm's 12,000 retail clients include such marquee names as Bloomingdale's.

# italy vs. china

"Everybody thought Calligaris was mad when he started, but now he is a model for all of us," says Gino Piani, who runs a company called Forsedia, with 50 employees, three lines of furniture and slumping sales. Piani's answer is Calligaris-inspired: he is trying to create his own brand and a sales network with fellow entrepreneurs. Two of the four firms he hoped to team with have since dropped out, but Piani doesn't need to look very far to see that he needs to do something. The Manzano district as a whole is working on a strategy that might help all the chair manufacturers: creating a certified hallmark analogous to the one used by the ham producers of San Daniele, 12 miles away, who make a famous prosciutto. To qualify, chairs would have to be made locally and meet stringent quality standards. Each hallmark chair would be numbered for authenticity. "The first thing we need to do in this global world is to have an identity. If we don't, we'll disappear," says Fabrizio Mansutti, president of Promosedia, a local trade association that is sponsoring the plan.

Yet even as they talk about focusing on Italian manufacturing heritage, officials for the bigger firms are dealing with reality and shifting production out of the Manzano district. Luigi Cozzi, for example, has relocated his wood treatment to Romania, where his firm, Idealsedia, now has 300 workers—50 more than it has in Italy. Such cost-cutting moves are a matter of survival. Natuzzi, a major Italian sofa maker headquartered in Santeramo, still makes high-end products in Italy. But less expensive sofas aimed at price-conscious North American consumers are wholly made at a factory Natuzzi operates in Shanghai. The company had no choice but to open a Chinese plant, says Daniele Tranchini, Natuzzi's chief global sales-and-marketing officer. "Half our sales come from North America, and that market has been hit more than most with cheap products from China," Tranchini says. Besides, he adds, "everyone recognizes it's an Italian product. Where it is manufactured has really become a secondary issue."

That's a difficult lesson for Manzano to comprehend. A company called Sibau just down the road from Piani's factory collapsed last May, with the loss of 50 jobs. "They stayed still too long," Piani laments. "They thought nobody could make chairs the way they did." —With reporting by Susan Jakes/Beijing



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# Sitting Pretty

China's chairmaking industry is booming. But that doesn't mean staying on top will be easy

BY SUSAN JAKES ANJI

**H**

HOW DID CHINA GET SO GOOD AT making chairs? To find the answer, travel 120 miles from Shanghai to a cluster of villages in the Yangtze delta. Eighteen hundred years ago, an Emperor fond of its forests named the area Anji, which means "peaceful auspiciousness." Until recently, its resi-

dents farmed bamboo and grew white tea. Then in 1982, as economic reforms took hold in China, a state-owned factory set up to supply lab stools to a nearby university made the country's first five-wheeled swivel chair. Soon local bamboo farmers pooled their savings to start factories themselves. By the late 1990s, Anji's economy centered on a single product. Last year its 460 factories churned out \$740 million worth of chairs (more than double the output in 2003) and exported nearly half that. "One in every three office chairs in China will now be made here," says Lin Huanrong, vice secretary of Anji's newly established Chair Industry Association. So in 2003 officials in Beijing gave the county an honorary moniker. From then on, it would be known as Yiye Zhi Xiang, the Town of Chairs.

China has been in the furniture busi-

ness for a while. The Pearl River delta, in the south of the nation, has supplied the world with cheap beds and dressers for decades. But more recently, as new Chinese homeowners have swelled domestic demand, the industry has spread to other parts of the country. Now manufacturers are crafting increasingly sophisticated wares that allow China to compete in markets once dominated by Europe. Last year China exported \$13.77 billion worth of furniture, overtaking Italy as the world's leading exporter. "At the beginning, you could never get the right quality in China," says Judy George, CEO of upscale American chain Domain Home Fashions, who moved her production base to China from

Italy in 2002. "Now they can make just about anything."

In Anji that process is just beginning. In 1993 Zhu Kanglin, then 23 and a farmer turned plastic-mold factory worker, scraped together \$3,000; bought wheels, arms, foam padding and plywood chair bodies from local components manufacturers; and hired 20 friends to assemble the parts into finished products. Today his Heaven Office Furniture makes 1,000 kinds of office chairs, from executive models in black leather and chrome to squat cloth-clad cubicle standards. Zhu won his first export contract in 2004. He also attended the Cologne Furniture Fair in Germany and sent 80% of his \$3 million output to 20 countries. Through a screen of plas-



◀ MADE IN CHINA

This model, produced in Anji, looks as sleek as its more expensive Italian counterpart

\$56 (wholesale)



▲ MADE IN ITALY

This executive model is an example of *moda italiana*—elegant and relatively expensive

\$348 (wholesale)





## Anji has 210,000 chair laborers who each earn about \$185 a month

tic bamboo along his office window, he points out the new factory he's building next door. He shows off a United Arab Emirates health-insurance card, which grants him medical treatment in Dubai, where he just opened his first foreign shop. "By Anji's standards, we have a small business," he says. "We're middle of the road."

Italian manufacturers shouldn't think that their Chinese competitors have things easy. Zhu and his counterparts are constantly worried about maintaining their edge. Most of the 210,000 Anji chair laborers are locals. They work nine- to 10-hour days six days a week and make about \$185 a month—vs. \$1,000 in Italy. But as Anji sprouts new plants, workers have become scarcer, making it difficult for manufacturers to keep salaries low. Local officials have established a personnel office to lure more migrants from less developed areas, but their real concern is to improve the quality of Anji's wares, to make chairs better rather than just cheaper. County officials have established an R&D facility of Anji's own and have plans to build a chair museum. By 2012, Anji hopes to boast of making "more than two brands that reach an international standard," according to a mission statement on the county's website, [chairstoday.com](http://chairstoday.com).

Even in the booming Pearl Riv-

er delta—China's furniture stronghold—research, innovation and technical know-how have failed to keep pace with production. But that too may change. According to Eric Kan, whose Hong Kong-based Oasis Global Sourcing designs and procures luxury housewares on the mainland, "Chinese factories have improved

ues, he says, but they need supervision. "Today I still have to specify what kind of glue, how many screws, what percentage of the wood's pores should be exposed by the lacquer," he says. But in the future, he predicts, China will not only nail the details on imported designs but also start to dream up its own. "Until a few years ago, China produced only 1,000 product designers a year," he says. "Now it's producing tens of thousands. This is going to change the atmosphere of the whole industry."

Nor are Anji's manufacturers sitting on their advantage. They know they have to change. From the vantage point of Italy, Chinese firms may seem to have enormous cost advantages. But none in Anji think sustained economic growth can be built on price alone. Wang Yongqi, a gym teacher who started making chairs in 2000, surveys a batch of leather-sheathed dining chairs bound for Spain and sighs. "Our materials are getting more expensive," he says, "and we need more workers, but unless we can improve our designs, we can't raise prices. Otherwise our clients will go to Vietnam or other parts of China." Chairs may be for sitting on, but in a world of globalized supply chains, the winners will be those manufacturers—wherever they live—who hit the deck running. Every day.

► Heaven Office Furniture's chief Zhu was a farmer and then a factory worker



◀ Anji, known as the Town of Chairs, is home to 460 factories like this one

dramatically in the past three to five years in terms of their attention to detail." Kan outfitted the Sands Casino in Macau, and is at work furnishing a Manhattan clubhouse for the Ciprianis, the Venetian family that owns namesake hotels and restaurants around the world. Factories in China are capable of producing furniture for those kinds of ven-

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 **ACURA**

# Heelys Wheel Ahead

The small Texas shoe firm is trying to control its global expansion. That means tackling cheap knockoffs and problem partners

BY FRANCINE RUSSO

**I**N JAPAN KIDS DANCE IN THEM, FIGURE-SKATING STYLE. IN CANADA THEY glide in them to whack a street-hockey puck. And from London to St. Petersburg, preteens use them as alternative transportation. They're Heelys, and the brand is on the move. But how does a company with \$40 million in annual revenues and a slender marketing budget expand to more than

60 countries in less than five years without getting lost? HSL Inc., launched in late 2000 with one product, posted U.S. sales of more than \$36 million last year—an increase of 250%—and about \$2.4 million in Europe (up a respectable 200%) while the company was opening up Latin America and combatting piracy in Asia. “Our marketing strategy is universal,” says Mike Staffaroni, CEO of HSL, which is based in Carrollton, Texas. From Day One, the company has aimed at controlled distribution and growth, maintaining mystique by selling at premium-priced, higher-end retailers and “nix to the likes of Wal-Mart or Target.” It positions Heelys as sporting equipment, not toys, despite a target audience of 6-to-14-year-olds.

The key to selling the brand abroad has been keeping it hot at home. Whether in Detroit or Taipei, the company relies on grass-roots marketing. To explain how to “heel” skate on one rear wheel, the company cherry-picks a handful of cool kids, “like school athletes,” in selected schools to join Team Heelys. These paid performers demo

the shoes at malls, concerts and sporting events, and they also chat up Team Heelys wannabes on the Heelys website, generating cred and buzz.

Staying hot means constantly retooling, chugging out upgraded wheel varieties, fashions and comfort features twice a year. HSL has also added accessories like helmets and related products.

Months after launching in the U.S., HSL shipped to Japan, its first offshore market. The company couldn’t afford its



In a St. Petersburg club, Russian dancers take Heelys for a spin

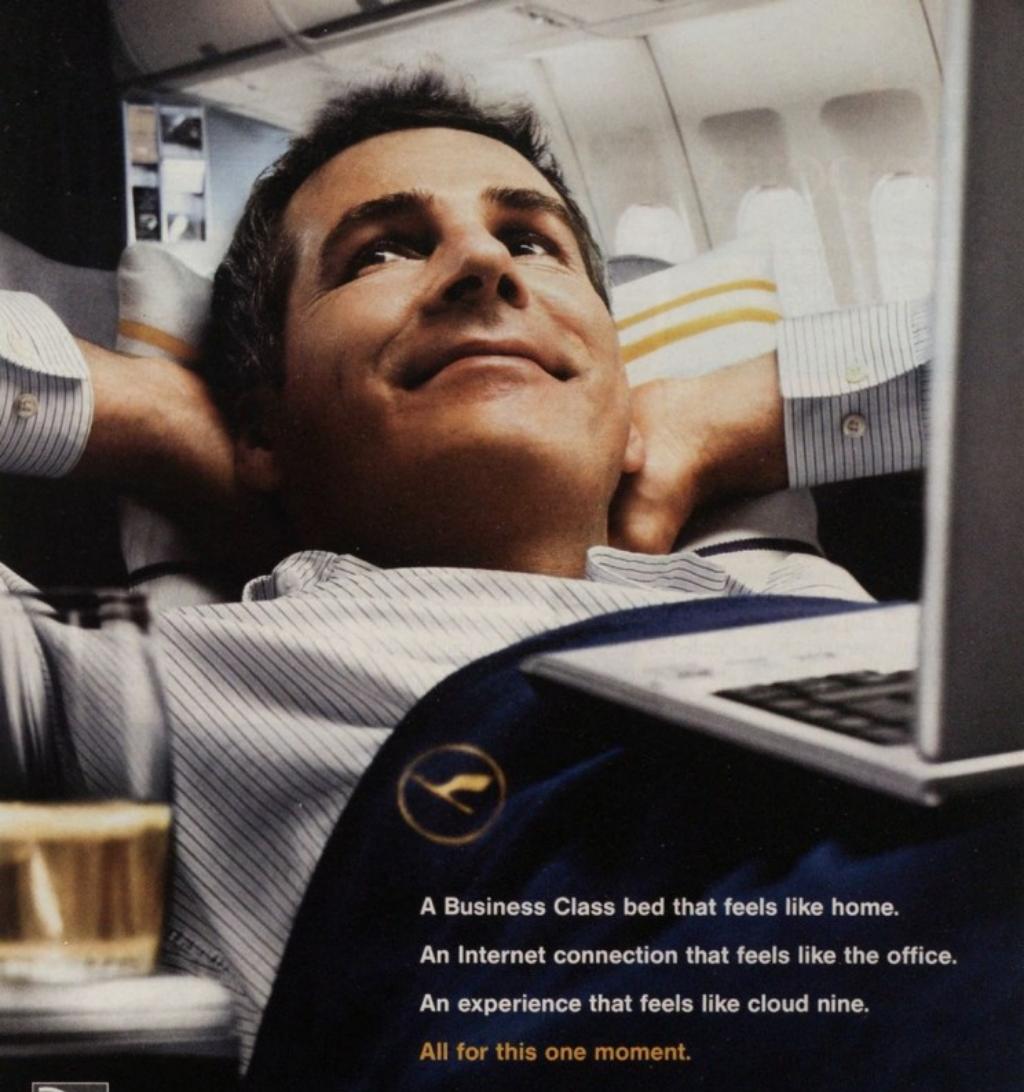
own subsidiaries, so within each country or region it signed an exclusive distributor, which uses HSL’s global marketing strategy but handles TV advertising, local-language websites and events.

Take Japan. Public demos proved a perfect vehicle for product exposure in that densely populated country. HSL rolled out Heelys in brighter colors and produced Hello Kitty and Winnie the Pooh models to take advantage of local licensing agreements. But success spawned cheap copies, slicing HSL’s monopoly market share in half. In a neat bit of counterprogramming, however, its man in Japan recommended fighting the pirates on their turf: self-serve discounters. So HSL created Cruz, a lower-priced sub-brand, exclusively for Japan.

Not every local distributor has worked out. “It takes time to find the right one and to see results,” Staffaroni says. Britain started slowly but is now the No. 2 market in Europe, while sales in Russia have increased for three years. Within five years, the company hopes to distribute directly in Europe, eliminating the middleman and boosting margins. Longer term, the company wants to control distribution in South America, Canada and Mexico.

With only 2 million heelers, compared with some 10 million skateboarders, HSL can grow if it can turn the shoes into a lifestyle product, says Marshal Cohen, chief analyst at NPD Group. He suggests that HSL elevate the brand by working to make heeling an Olympic event. Having staged the Pan-Asian Heelys Challenge for three years, and with the first European competition kicking off next summer, “we think about that all the time,” says Staffaroni. It worked for snowboarding.

Wearers can walk, run, glide—or pop out the wheels to create regular shoes. Here, the Venture 7092



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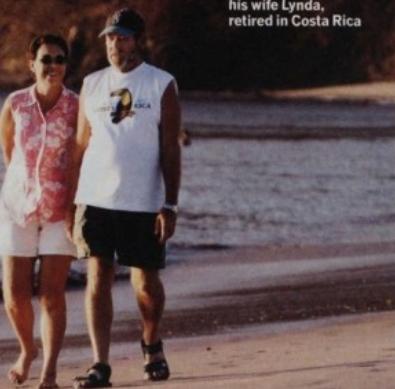
A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

# Hot Property

The boomer real estate boom reaches Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua

Jerry Tucker, with his wife Lynda, retired in Costa Rica

( investing )



BY UNMESH KHER

JUDY SADLIER AND GENE BUDINGER WANTED TO SPEND THEIR RETIREMENT adrift. Over the last years of their working life in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., Judy, 69, a financial adviser, and Gene, 67, a real estate agent, had daydreamed of taking a few years to explore the Caribbean in the *Skylark*, their 36-ft. sailboat. But when a sailing buddy told them two years ago that he was giving up an apartment he had rented in Antigua Guatemala and asked if they wanted it, they jumped at the opportunity.

After sailing up the Rio Dulce, Guatemala's "Sweet River," the couple made their way to the central highlands. "We fell in love with Antigua," Sadlier recalls. Within two months, they bought a partially built house in the charming, volcano-ringed colonial city.

Legions of retiring baby boomers, troubled by the high cost of living—and aging—at home, are venturing far south of Florida and Arizona to make their golden years extra mellow. Although

places like Playa del Carmen and Cancún in Mexico have long been retirement havens, ever venturesome boomers are settling deeper into Central America, lured there as much by the laid-back ethos as by the lush forests and beckoning beaches. Costa Rica alone, according to the foreign-retiree association Casa Canada in San José, plays host to 50,000 Americans. That migration has spawned a

PHOTO BY ANDREW HETHERINGTON

# Focus

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mountain towns from Honduras to Panama.

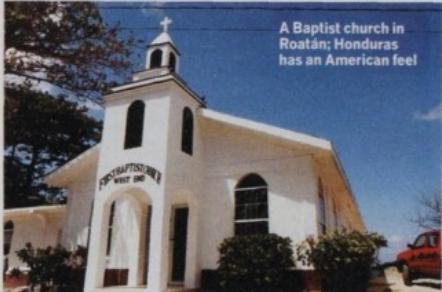
Savings still go far in Central America. "I know people who live here on less than \$1,000 a month," says Sadlier. Even in tonier Costa Rica, \$1,500 buys monthly comforts (including \$150 for a full-time housekeeper). Many doctors in Guatemala City, the capital near cosmopolitan Antigua, have been trained in the U.S. or Europe, and they make house calls. Retirees in Costa Rica can qualify for a \$500-a-year version of Medicare or use private hospitals that cater to fussy foreigners. Is your ticker tuckered out? Open-heart surgery can be had for just \$45,000, says Ryan Piercy, general manager of the Association of Residents of Costa Rica.

The boom has its ugly-American side.

Beachfront development has devastated parts of the reef around the diver's paradise of Roatán, the best-known of Honduras' storied Bay Islands. And although Antigua and Costa Rica are relatively safe, burglaries are up in Honduras, driving the development of gated communities. But Bill and Judith Allred, who in 1998 bought a pod-style home in Roatán conceived by the Canadian designer Hal Sorrenti, say common sense helps ward off crime. "This isn't St. Barts," says Judith. "You don't go out at night wearing jewels."

As the gringo migration grows, so do real estate prices. Ocean-view lots and houses in Costa Rica start at \$200,000 today and range up to seven figures, says Edgar Santamaría, regional director for Century 21. So retirees in Costa Rica are moving to Guatemala and Nicaragua, the latest frontier, where similar plots cost a tenth

of that. But home building can move at a tropical pace: 18 months after Sadlier and Budinger bought their house, and a year after they were supposed to have moved in, they're still waiting for the builders to wrap. "Mañana might mean one week or one month to Costa Ricans," muses Jerry Tucker, 64, formerly of Seattle. "But then that's why we enjoy life here. It's so much more laid back." —Reported by Michelle Mitchell/San José, Jill Replogle/Antigua and Melanie Wetzel/Roatán



A Baptist church in Roatán; Honduras has an American feel

CIVON STEPHENS





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# Speeding Up Renault

Carlos Ghosn, Nissan's savior, is pushing the French automaker to get into gear

BY BRUCE CRUMLEY PARIS

SMILING BROADLY AND LOOKING DAPPER IN A POWDER BLUE SHIRT, PIN-striped suit and bright red tie, Renault CEO Carlos Ghosn doesn't look like your typical corporate hatchet man. Back in 1999, however, Ghosn was dubbed the "samurai" and "cost killer" at Nissan Motor in Japan. As the newly appointed president, he began closing plants, slashing more than \$20 billion in debt and eliminating 20,000-plus jobs to return

the moribund company to profitability. Many observers—especially France's sometimes intractable unions—expected similar tough love in early February, when Ghosn unveiled his ambitious four-year plan for the European auto giant, which has had an increasingly close joint partnership with Nissan since 1999. But, *quelle surprise*, so far Ghosn's quality-enhancing, production-boosting, profit-focused project has avoided layoffs. "Renault is not in

the same critical situation Nissan was, so the methods we're using to improve things are different," says Ghosn during an interview at Renault's Boulogne-Billancourt headquarters on the southwestern edge of Paris. "We're confident this plan will be successful. But if not, we'll assume the consequences. Everyone knows exactly what's at stake."

In the auto industry in particular—still the bellwether for a globally successful

manufacturing sector in many European countries—managers have had to make tough choices that have proved politically controversial. In Europe, unions still have considerable political power, not to mention seats at the board of directors table. DaimlerChrysler has said it is looking for a reduction of 14,500 jobs at Mercedes, while Volkswagen in February announced 20,000 job cuts. In such an environment, Renault appears to be defying gravity by promising ambitious results without the pain of slashing labor costs. Indeed, Ghosn is pledging to increase annual car sales by 800,000 units by 2009, double operating profit margins and improve product and brand quality. "The lesson of the Nissan revival plan was, What's vital is the result, not the precise means of attaining it," says Ghosn, 52. "We've analyzed the opportunities and potentials at Renault and made clear commitments on the results we'll deliver."

(change agent)

**Revving Renault**

The company plans to overhaul 13 current models and introduce 13 new ones

The end result, he predicts, will be the "most profitable European volume car company."

Ironically, that will mean shifting away from the European market. Renault, founded in 1898 and beloved by the French for its innovative designs and reliable cars, remains profitable with a 2005 net income of \$5.39 billion, making it the third largest car manufacturer in Europe. But when Ghosn was named CEO last April, he inherited slowing European car markets, dated production and management systems and some dud car models such as the Vel Satis luxury car. With Renault sales in Western Europe dropping 7.3% in the second half of 2005, group operating profit margin shrank from 5.2% to 3.2%. Ghosn was forced to issue profit warnings for 2006 and indicated that 2007 would be slow too.

In response, Ghosn spent nine months looking at the company's international offices, assembly lines and even dealerships to map out a new business plan for Renault. He wants to lift operating profit margin to 6%, increase annual Renault car sales from the current 2.5 million to 3.3 million, relaunch 13 existing brands and roll out 13 new models. Ghosn also plans to step up Renault's activity in luxury, SUV and crossover categories and exploit its effervescent markets outside Western Europe, where two-thirds of the extra 800,000 cars are expected to be sold.

The additional activity is scheduled to improve factory utilization rates from a current 60% of capacity to 75%, which is still nothing to write home about. Ghosn is also demanding extensive collaboration among international executives from different departments on crucial development, production and marketing decisions. "You can't have marketing managers discovering a car

**► WINNER**

The popular Mégane accounts for a big chunk of Renault's sales. The latest version is a sporty coupe

**► LOSER**

The Vel Satis, introduced as a luxury car, got the same reception as VW's luxury car. Drivers didn't buy

they are supposed to sell as it's rolling out," says Ghosn, who last year delayed the launch of a disappointingly redesigned Twingo model, at the cost of a reported \$104 million. "More people and more debate must go into development. Twingo is an example. It was generating resistance within the company as it was going to market. How can you ask a customer to buy a car if even people at Renault don't like it?"

Blunt talk like that is rare in corporate France, but Ghosn is used to breaking molds. Born in Brazil to Lebanese parents and raised in Beirut, he studied in Paris and graduated from the élite Ecole Polytechnique. In 1978 he went to work for tire-maker Michelin, eventually heading the group's South American operations, based in Brazil, before taking over the North American operations. Recruited to the money-losing Renault in 1996, Ghosn undertook a three-year cost-cutting campaign, ultimately saving the company more than \$5.2 billion—and allowing it to take its controlling stake of Nissan in 1999.

As he remolded the company, Ghosn became a business hero and media superstar in Japan. Now spending "about 10 days a month in Japan"—where his wife Rita still owns the My Lebanon restaurant in Tokyo—and two weeks in Paris, Ghosn says he gets the "best of both worlds." The rest of his time is mostly spent overseeing Nissan's struggling U.S. business. Renault pulled out of the U.S. market in 1997, and Ghosn says

it won't return "until we can dedicate all our mind, heart, guts and soul—and even then [we may] not be assured of success."

Almost everything about his plan is a gamble. Waiting until 2009 for full results means that the market may be dominated by "disappointing business news that Ghosn himself has warned of," says Christopher Laborde, an auto-industry analyst for ING in Paris. That could undermine Renault's share price, Laborde continues, and force Ghosn to respond with wider job cuts such as rivals have made. Meanwhile, Philippe Martinez, head of the automotive sector at the General Confederation of Labor, France's labor union, is pleased that the plan has avoided firings. But he would also like to see "significant numbers of new workers" hired, "to allow us to produce so many new cars at higher quality standards within the tight deadlines the plan requires."

The French state still owns 15.7% of its former property Renault, so no past CEO has expected an entirely free hand. If Ghosn is forced to renege on his promise to avoid layoffs, Renault's fortunes could become a political issue in the 2007 presidential elections. But Ghosn suggests that times—and France—have changed. He's the first Renault president selected purely for his business record, rather than for his political contacts. "If they'd wanted a yes-man at Renault," he says, "I wouldn't have been named CEO."

**RENAULT'S U-TURN**

With Ghosn at the wheel, the French carmaker hopes to send its stock even higher





> > >

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*collaborate > create > succeed*



V

**OUR SOLUTION FOR  
PROMOTING HEALTHY  
JOINTS HELPS PEOPLE  
LOOK AHEAD TO ACTIVE  
LIVES, NOT JUST BACK  
ON THEM.**



**Zhang Lan** SERVING UP CHANGE

Branded a counterrevolutionary in China's Cultural Revolution, restaurateur Zhang Lan has profited from that label ever since. In 1991, when few Chinese were opening businesses, Zhang redefined China's dining experience, combining classic Sichuan food with Western-inspired settings. The result was South Beauty, one of the nation's first restaurant chains, which has \$25 million in sales and more than 3,000 employees in 20 locations. Zhang, 47, is eyeing Europe and the U.S., again rebuking usual wisdom. She will shun any location in an urban Chinatown. —By Kathleen Kingsbury

# People to Watch In International Business



AL BANAS/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

**Derica Rice** PRESCRIPTION FOR STABILITY

For its new CFO, Eli Lilly's success is personal. In 1990 Rice, 41, decided to join the company that made his diabetic mother's insulin. Says the Alabama native: "I know [now] Lilly is why I've had 24 years longer with my mother." His wife also works for the company. Lilly, whose prospects once seemed dim with the loss in 2001 of its patent for the popular antidepressant Prozac, expects a rise in earnings of up to 12% this year, led by new drugs such as Byetta—for diabetes. At the same time, Lilly has cut its workforce nearly 7% since 2004 and has plans to reduce the cost of drug development. —K.K.



(world beaters)



HEATHER MITCHELL/CHINA PHOTOS/GETTY IMAGES

**Daryl Brewster** SHOW THEM THE DOUGH

A glazed doughnut, a decaf and Krispy Kreme's lukewarm performance, sprinkled with profit warnings and an SEC investigation, will keep the new CEO focused on revitalizing the once darling brand. Having rebuilt Planters Nuts and Oreo for Kraft and Nabisco, Brewster, 49, can again tap consumer insights and learn from rivals like Dunkin' Donuts and Tim Hortons to bring the Kreme—and its 319 stores—to the top. Brewster's run as Kraft's president in Canada, Mexico and Puerto Rico should also boost Kreme's best foreign markets. "The brand does seem to have some magic," he says. "We want to do this right—and make sure we're learning from the past." —By Coco Masters



PHOTO BY JEFFREY L. COOPER FOR TIME

**Yes, the world's remaining  
gas reserves are getting  
harder to reach.**



**So people like John Lang are  
going further to get at them.**

Until recently, the Goldeneye gas field was too far from the nearest processing facilities to be viable. John Lang, and the team at Shell found the solution: an unmanned platform and the North Sea's longest tieback pipeline to an onshore gas plant. Today, Goldeneye is providing around 3% of the UK's natural gas. Worldwide there are an estimated 436 trillion cubic meters\* of natural gas reserves left to extract. Much of it lies in inaccessible environments. Thanks to original thinking from people like John, Shell is harnessing this energy to meet growing global demand. Find out how we're providing energy now and in the future at [shell.com/john](http://shell.com/john)

\*15,397 trillion cubic feet (US equivalent) Source: US Geological Survey 2002





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# The Spy in Your Pocket

Your mobile knows where you are—and, for a price, so can others

By KRISTINA DELL

**W**ESLEY CLARK BUILT A CAMPAIGN for President as an expert in national security. But he recently discovered a hole in his personal security—his cell phone. A resourceful blogger, hoping to call attention to the black market in phone records, turned the general into his privacy-rights guinea pig in January. For \$89.95, he purchased, no questions asked, the records of 100 cell-phone calls that Clark had made. (He revealed the ruse to Clark soon after.) "It's like someone taking your wallet or knowing who paid you money," Clark says. "It's no great discovery, but it just doesn't feel right." Since then, Clark has become a vocal supporter of the movement to outlaw the sale of cell-phone records to third parties.

The U.S.'s embrace of mobile phones—about 65% of the population are subscribers—has far outpaced efforts to keep what we do with them private. That has cleared the way for a cottage industry devoted to exploiting phone numbers, calling records and even the locations of unsuspecting subscribers for profit. A second business segment is developing applications like anonymous traffic monitoring and employee tracking. It's not just the con artists who are a worry. Every new mobile-phone technology, even a useful, perfectly legal one, comes with unintended privacy concerns.

Clark's allies in Congress drafted a bill to ban the sale of wireless-phone records, but it stalled in the Senate last week. In the meantime, spy outfits pose as subscribers to obtain records, then sell them to private investigators, divorce lawyers or anyone else with a credit card. Verizon Wireless and other carriers shut down one notorious data broker, Locatecell.com. "There are thousands of companies doing this," says Robert Douglas, a security consultant and former private investigator. He notes that



## WHO'S KEEPING AN EYE ON YOU?

**PERSONAL INFO** Fraudsters can grab your call records and sell them to third parties for profit

**CRIME STOPPERS** Cell phones can be triangulated to within about 300 yards. Police with a court order can then track the movements of suspects

**GRIDLOCK BUSTER** Using collated GPS data, officials can alert drivers via cell phone about gridlock and reroute them

**OMNIBOSS** Employers can know when you're playing hooky, thanks to a program embedded in your company phone

there are about 60,000 licensed private investigators in the U.S. "Unfortunately, anyone worth his salt knows who to turn to for phone records," he says. Wireless carriers are also revamping their practices to deter infiltration. Most will no longer release calling records by fax or e-mail. They have even tightened rules about giving records to people who claim to have lost a cell phone.

Before widespread cell-phone use, lawmakers tried to address privacy with the

Telecommunications Act of 1996. But it appears the law never envisioned the booming software industry that grew out of the demand for wireless-phone data. Most mobile phones are powerful tracking devices, with global-positioning systems (GPS) inside. Companies like Xora combine GPS data with information about users to create practical applications. One similar technology allows rental-car companies to track their cars with GPS. California imposed restrictions on the practice last year after a company fined a customer \$3,000 for crossing into Nevada, violating the rental contract.

Other applications have not yet been challenged. For about \$26 a month per employee, a boss can set up a "geofence" to track how workers use company-issued cell phones or even if they go home early. About 1,000 employers use the service, developed by Xora with Sprint-Nextel.

The companies selling those services insist that they care about privacy. AirSage, for example, gets data from wireless carriers to monitor drivers' cell-phone signals and map them over road grids. That lets it see exactly where gridlock is forming and quickly alert drivers to delays and alternative routes. The data it gets from carriers are aggregated from many users and scrambled, so no one can track an individual phone. "No official can use [the data] to give someone a speeding ticket," says Cy Smith, CEO of AirSage.

Privacy advocates say that even with those safeguards, consumers should have a choice about how their information is used. Even anonymous data could, for example, reveal where a large group of people is headed for a protest. "These programs start out with the best intentions, but they expand," says Barry Steinhardt, director of the Technology and Liberty Program at the A.C.L.U. Some responsibility, of course, rests with the individual. Since his data were revealed, Clark took his mobile number off his business cards. Wireless carriers also recommend that customers avoid giving out their mobile numbers online. But Clark insists that the law should change to protect our privacy, no matter how much technology allows us to connect. "One thing we value in this country," he says, "is the freedom to be left alone."

# A Crude Warning

The largest oil spill in Alaska's North Slope raises sticky questions about future drilling in the Arctic

By NATHAN THORNBURGH

**A**T 5:45 ON A SEARINGLY COLD MARCH morning, still 2½ hours before sunrise, a BP worker driving along an empty access road at Alaska's Prudhoe Bay oil field suddenly smelled oil.

On the side of the road, hidden below a field of snow, a massive slick of crude oil had spread over nearly two acres of tundra. An aging pipe, installed during the Ford Administration, had corroded from the inside and oozed oil out of an almond-size hole—a leak that went undetected for at least five days. None of the pipeline's alarms were tripped. In all, 201,000 gal. of crude escaped, making the spill the largest ever to hit Alaska's North Slope.

The accident raises sticky questions about the oil industry in Alaska at an awkward time for the Bush Administration and its supporters in Congress. While the Senate was busy last week passing a largely symbolic budget amendment in support of opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to new drilling, Prudhoe Bay was facing the harsh realities of operating the state's existing wells.

The great petroleum reserves of Alaska are slowly but inexorably drying up, along with the profits of the oil companies that operate there. Meanwhile, 30-year-old pipelines that stretch like a giant cobweb over the oil fields of the North Slope, a flat expanse between the ma-

jestic Brooks Range mountains and the Arctic shore, need more and costlier maintenance than ever. The new spill puts into sharp relief the same question that has stalemated the ANWR debate since the 1980s: Can oil companies focused on their bottom line be trusted to protect Alaska's fragile environment?

There is no question that Prudhoe Bay, the nation's largest oil field, is in decline. Production has slumped from a daily average of 1.6 million bbl. in 1988 to just 425,000 bbl. in 2005. To extract whatever oil remains, BP, which operates the field for a consortium of petroleum companies that includes ConocoPhillips and Exxon Mobil, has been taking measures that may have unintentionally raised the risks. Drilling more wells to further develop Prudhoe just adds to the more than 1,700 miles of pipeline that already crisscross the North Slope, increasing the chance of leaks. And other techniques, such as injecting water into old wells to flush out remaining pockets of oil, can be hard on the pipes. The corrosion behind this month's leak, for example, is thought to have been started by water that got into the pipeline, eating away at the steel.

Even measures taken to protect wildlife can cause problems. The hole that created the new spill was located at one of dozens of caribou-crossing sites, where the

pipeline is tucked in a culvert that helped shield the leak from view.

BP says that it increased corrosion-management spending 16% from 2005 to 2005 to meet these challenges. But an alarming Department of Transportation document obtained by the Anchorage Daily News raises questions about BP's diligence in inspecting its pipelines, pointing to no fewer than six other anomalies found on the same 10-mile stretch of pipeline, including a spot where the pipe had corroded so badly it was less than 0.04 in. thick.

Local political leaders are concerned about the oil companies' priorities.

"I'd like to see them use the best available technology to prevent major spills like [this one]," says North Slope Borough Mayor Edward Itta. "That's not happening right now."

In Congress, supporters of the Administration's policies say the country needs ANWR oil to be energy independent and to

fight the pinch at the pump, while opponents call it a land grab for Big Oil. Most observers agree, however, that with House Republicans deeply divided on the topic, the Senate's ANWR amendment will probably die the same death it did last year. One Republican staff member called it the *Groundhog Day* amendment.

Back in Prudhoe Bay, the battle lines are clearer. Braving temperatures as low as 40° F below zero, cleanup crews have contained the spill and are trucking in fresh snow to absorb whatever oil can't be vacuumed up. BP hopes to recover 90% of the lost crude, which it will funnel back into the pipeline and pump to the port of Valdez for sale on the open market. —Reported by Wesley Loy/Anchorage

**MOPPING UP**  
White-suited  
cleanup crews  
had to battle  
temperatures  
as low as 40° F  
below zero

201,000  
gal. of oil  
spread over  
two acres of  
snow-covered  
tundra

Prudhoe Bay



ALASKA

Prudhoe Bay

North Slope

Arctic Ocean

Beaufort Sea

Chukchi Sea

Siberia

North Pacific

North Atlantic

South Pacific

South Atlantic

South Indian

South China

South Pacific

South Indian



# Mind over Medicine

Hypnosis as an alternative to sedation is making a comeback in the operating room. Here's how it works

By SORA SONG

**S**HELLEY THOMAS, 53, WAS WHEELED into an anteroom at London's Middlesex Hospital in preparation for pelvic surgery. A patient going into that operation is usually given a mix of painkilling narcotics and nerve-quelling tranquilizers. But not Thomas. Instead she rested on a gurney, alert and calm, taking deep breaths at her hypnotherapist's instruction. Thomas counted aloud, "One hundred, deep sleep; 99, deeper sleep; 98..."

"By the time I got to 95, the words and numbers had all gone," says Thomas. "It's quite peculiar. They all go."

Minutes later, thoroughly hypnotized, Thomas was rolled into the operating room. There she underwent a 30-min. procedure with no anesthetics and no discernible pain. Her hypnotherapist stayed by her side throughout, monitoring her trance state and refocusing her mind when it drifted.

Thomas' story is not as extraordinary as you might think. Since the early 1990s, thousands of patients have opted for hypnosis—either as a substitute for or (more typically) as a complement to anesthesia—in a wide variety of surgical procedures, from repairing hernias to removing tumors. At the University Hospital of Liège in Belgium, a team of doctors led by Dr. Marie-Elisabeth Faymonville has logged more than 5,100 surgeries by hypnosedation, a technique Faymonville developed that replaces gener-

al anesthesia with hypnosis, local anesthesia and a mild sedative. "Patients tell us that it is a very special experience," says Faymonville. "We now have people coming from all over the world."

Hypnosis was first used as a surgical anesthetic in India in 1845 but was quickly abandoned with the introduction of ether the following year. The practice languished for decades, becoming, at least in the public eye, little more than a parlor trick. In 1958 it was sanctioned by the American Medical Association for use in medicine and dentistry. Since then, doctors have hypnotized patients to help ease such ills as migraines, depression, anxiety and chronic cancer pain.

But it is in Europe that surgical applications of hypnosis have flourished. The new interest stems in part from studies showing that hypnosedated patients suffer fewer side effects than fully sedated ones do. According to Faymonville, hypnotized patients can get by on less than 1% of the standard medications required for general anesthesia, thus avoiding such after-effects as nausea, fatigue, lack of coordination and cognitive impairment. In a 1999 study of thyroid patients, Faymonville found that the typical hypnosedated patient returned to work 15 days after surgery, compared with 28 days for a fully anesthetized patient.

Meanwhile, studies using advanced

scanning technology have shed new light on how hypnosis works to block pain. In a report published two years ago in the journal *Regional Anesthesia and Pain Medicine*, Dr. Sebastian Schulz-Stübner of the University of Iowa reported using heat-producing thermodes to measure the pain thresholds of 12 healthy volunteers ("painful" stimuli earning a rating of 8 or higher on a 10-point scale). When the participants were hypnotized and re-exposed to the thermodes, all 12 reported feeling significantly reduced pain (with ratings of 3 or lower) or no pain at all.

The differences in the subjects' brain scans were equally striking. The typical pain signal follows a well-worn path from the brain stem through the midbrain and into the cortex, where conscious feelings of pain arise. In Schulz-Stübner's study, the hypnotized group showed subcortical brain activity similar to that of nonhypnotized volunteers, but the primary sensory cortex stayed quiet. The "ouch" message wasn't making it past the midbrain and into consciousness.

The new findings have fostered interest in the U.S., where doctors are using hypnosis for procedures in which sedation is inappropriate or for patients who are allergic to anesthetics. Dr. David Spiegel, associate chair of the department of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at Stanford University, hypnotizes Parkinson's sufferers during the implantation of deep-brain electrodes—a process that requires tremulous patients to remain conscious and calm. He has also coaxed children into imagining that a balloon tied to their wrist will fly them to their favorite places, a hypnotic technique that has lessened anxiety in pediatric patients undergoing bladder catheterizations. In Iowa, Schulz-Stübner hypnotizes patients to reduce pain and anxiety while they receive pre-surgery nerve blocks, such as epidurals. He finds that the calming effects of hypnosis often last through the entire operation.

**Hypnotized patients recover more quickly, with less pain and with fewer side effects**

Yet even the most enthusiastic proponents of hypnosedation don't suggest that it replace anesthesia entirely. For one thing, not everybody can be hypnotized. Some 60% of patients are hypnotizable to some degree, Spiegel says; an additional 15%, highly so. The rest seem to be unresponsive. Moreover, many patients are fully sedated before surgery not because the surgeon requires it but because they choose to be. "People don't want to feel or hear anything. They want to be out," says Schulz-Stübner. "That's what you hear most of the time."

**gen M**

They're e-mailing, IMing and downloading while writing the history essay. What is all that digital juggling doing to kids' brains and their family life? By Claudia Wallis



# The Multitaski



TS 9:30 P.M., AND STEPHEN AND GEORGINA COX know exactly where their children are. Well, their bodies, at least. Piers, 14, is holed up in his bedroom—eyes fixed on his computer screen—where he has been logged onto a MySpace chat room and AOL Instant Messenger (IM) for the past three hours. His twin sister Bronte is planted in the living room, having commandedeer her dad's iMac—as usual. She, too, is busily IMing, while chatting on her cell phone and clipping away at homework.

By all standard space-time calculations, the four members of the family occupy the same three-bedroom home in Van Nuys, Calif., but psychologically each exists in his or her own little universe. Georgina, 51, who works for a display-cabinet maker, is tidying up the living room as Bronte works, not that her daughter notices. Stephen, 49, who juggles jobs as a squash coach, fitness trainer, event planner and head of a cancer charity he founded, has wolfed down his dinner alone in the kitchen, having missed supper with the kids. He, too, typically spends the evening on his cell phone and returning e-mails—when he can nudge Bronte off the computer. "One gets obsessed with one's gadgets," he concedes.

Zooming in on Piers' screen gives a pretty good indication of what's on his hyperkinetic mind. O.K., there's a Google Images window open, where he's chasing down pictures of Keira Knightley. Good ones get added to a snazzy Windows Media Player slide show that serves as his personal e-shrine to the actress. Several IM windows are also open, revealing such penetrating con-

Photograph for TIME  
by Aaron Goodman

# ng Generation

versations as this one with a MySpace pal:

*MySpacer: suuuuuup!!! (Translation: What's up?)*

*Piers: wat up dude*

*MySpacer: nmu (Not much. You?)*

*Piers: same*

Naturally, iTunes is open, and Piers is blasting a mix of Queen, AC/DC, classic rock and hip-hop. Somewhere on the screen there's a Word file, in which Piers is writing an essay for English class. "I usually finish my homework at school," he explains to a visitor, "but if not, I pop a book open on my lap in my room, and while the computer is loading, I'll do a problem or write a sentence. Then, while I'm loading, I do more. I get it done a little bit at a time."

Bronte has the same strategy. "You just multitask," she explains. "My parents always tell me I can't do homework while listening to music, but they don't understand that it helps me concentrate." The twins also multitask when hanging with friends, which has its own etiquette. "When I talk to my best friend Eloy," says Piers, "he'll have one earpiece [of his iPod] in and one out." Says Bronte: "If a friend thinks she's not getting my full attention, I just make it very clear that she is, even though I'm also listening to music."

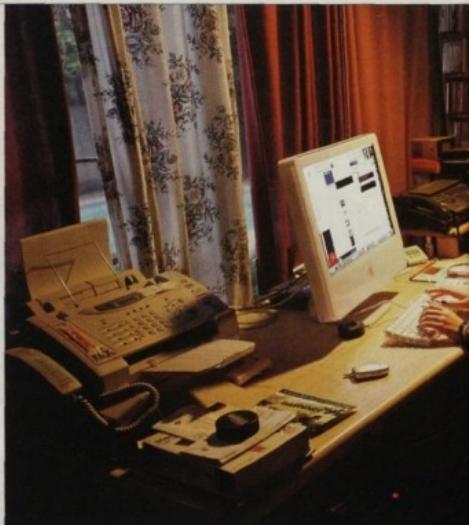
The Coxes are one of 32 families in the Los Angeles area participating in an intensive, four-year study of modern family life, led by anthropologist Elinor Ochs, director of UCLA's Center on Everyday Lives of Families. While the impact of multitasking gadgets was not her original focus, Ochs found it to be one of the most dramatic areas of change since she conducted a similar study 20 years ago. "I'm not certain how the children can monitor all those things at the same time, but I think it is pretty consequential for the structure of the family relationship," says Ochs, whose work on language, interaction and culture earned her a MacArthur "genius" grant.

One of the things Ochs' team of observers looks at is what happens at the end of the workday when parents and kids reunite—and what doesn't happen, as in

the case of the Coxes. "We saw that when the working parent comes through the door, the other spouse and the kids are so absorbed by what they're doing that they don't give the arriving parent the time of day," says Ochs. The returning parent, generally the father, was greeted only about a third of the time, usually with a perfunctory "Hi." About half the time the kids ignored him or didn't stop what they were doing, multitasking and monitoring their various electronic gadgets," she says. "We also saw how difficult it was for parents to penetrate the child's universe. We have so many videotapes of parents actually backing away, retreating from kids who are absorbed by whatever they're doing."

HUMAN BEINGS HAVE ALWAYS HAD A CAPACITY to attend to several things at once. Mothers have done it since the hunter-gatherer era—picking berries while sucking an infant, stirring the pot with one eye on the toddler. Nor is electronic multitasking entirely new: we've been driving while listening to car radios since they became popular in the 1930s. But there is no doubt that the phenomenon has reached a kind of warp speed in the era of Web-enabled computers, when it has become routine to conduct six IM conversations, watch *American Idol* on TV and Google the names of last season's finalists all at once.

That level of multiprocessing and interpersonal connectivity is now so commonplace that it's easy to forget how quickly it came about. Fifteen years ago, most home computers weren't even linked to the Internet. In 1990 the majority of ado-



lescents responding to a survey done by Donald Roberts, a professor of communication at Stanford, said the one medium they couldn't live without was a radio/CD player. How quaint. In a 2004 follow-up, the computer won hands down.

Today 82% of kids are online by the seventh grade, according to the Pew Internet and American Life Project. And what they love about the computer, of course, is that it offers the radio/CD thing and so much more—games, movies, e-mail, IM, Google, MySpace. The big finding of a 2005 survey of Americans ages 8 to 18 by the Kaiser Family Foundation, co-authored by Roberts, is not that kids were spending a larger chunk of time using electronic media—that was holding steady at 6.5 hours



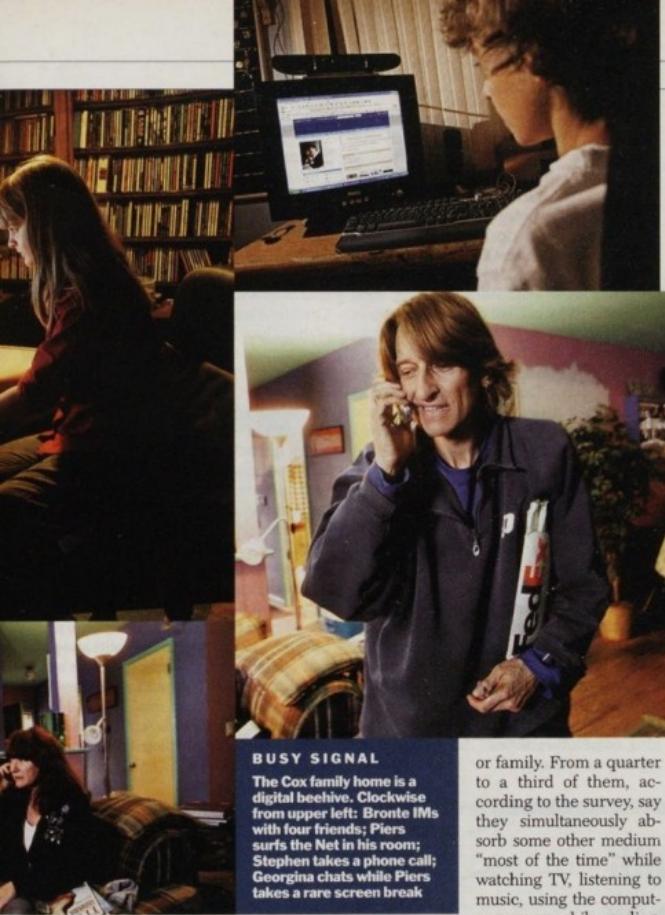
## Tips for Parents

**Dr. Edward Hallowell**, a psychiatrist and author of the new book *CrazyBusy: Overstretched, Overbooked and About to Snap—Strategies for Coping in a World Gone ADD*, offers some guidelines for parents of Generation M:

**DO** see for yourself what it's all about. Get on IM. Download an MP3 music file. Play a video game. Create a MySpace account. Let your kids be your guide, but talk to them about how to use these technologies safely and wisely.

**DON'T** be a disapproving elder. Every older generation believes the younger generation is on the road to perdition. Your kids need your curiosity and involvement, not pious, uninformed pronouncements.

**DO** set limits, monitor content and teach "techno-manners" for everyone: No cell phones at the dinner table. No playing video games while someone is trying to talk to you. No ignoring Mom and Dad when they come home because you are glued to a screen.



#### BUSY SIGNAL

The Cox family home is a digital beehive. Clockwise from upper left: Bronte IMs with four friends; Piers surfs the Net in his room; Stephen takes a phone call; Georgina chats while Piers takes a rare screen break

a day (could it possibly get any bigger?)—but that they were packing more media exposure into that time: 8.5 hours' worth, thanks to “media multitasking”—listening to iTunes, watching a DVD and IMing friends all at the same time. Increasingly, the media-hungry members of Generation M, as Kaiser dubbed them, don’t just sit down to watch a TV show with their friends

Parents have watched this phenomenon unfold with a mixture of awe and concern. The Coxes, for instance, are bowled over by their children’s technical prowess. Piers repairs the family computers and DVD player. Bronte uses digital technology to compose elaborate photo collages and create a documentary of her father’s ongoing treatment for cancer. And, says Georgina,

or family. From a quarter to a third of them, according to the survey, say they simultaneously absorb some other medium “most of the time” while watching TV, listening to music, using the computer or even while reading.

“they both make these fancy PowerPoint presentations about what they want for Christmas.” But both parents worry about the ways that kids’ compulsive screen time is affecting their schoolwork and squeezing out family life. “We rarely have dinner together anymore,” frets Stephen. “Everyone is in their own little world, and we don’t get out together to have a social life.”

Every generation of adults sees new technology—and the social changes it stirs—as a threat to the rightful order of things: Plato warned (correctly) that reading would be the downfall of oral tradition and memory. And every generation of teenagers embraces the freedoms and possibilities wrought by technology in ways that shock the elders: just think about what the automobile did for dating.

As for multitasking devices, so-called scientists and educators are just beginning to assess their impact, but the researchers already have some strong opinions. The mental habit of dividing one’s attention into many small slices has significant implications for the way young people learn, reason, socialize, do creative work and understand the world. Although such habits may prepare kids for today’s frenzied workplace,

many cognitive scientists are positively alarmed by the trend. “Kids that are instant messaging while doing homework, playing games online and watching TV, I predict, aren’t going to do well in the long run,” says Jordan Grafman, chief of the cognitive neuroscience section at the National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke (NINDS). Decades of research (not to mention common sense) indicate that the quality of one’s output and depth of thought deteriorate as one attends to ever more tasks. Some are concerned about the disappearance of mental downtime to relax and reflect. Roberts notes Stanford students “can’t go the few minutes between their 10 o’clock and 11 o’clock classes without talking on their cell phones. It seems to

**DON'T** be a screen-sucker. Monitor your own online behavior and television viewing. A major reason for the disappearance of the human moment in families is the parents’—not just the kids’—addiction to screens.

**DO** look for the good. Search for what's positive and innovative in the ways in which your children are using and adapting to the new technology. Try to imagine how it could be used to enhance relationships and learning.

**DON'T** let technology steal your kids from you. Enjoy your children. Cherish the face-to-face conversations, the shared laughter, the dinner with all the family, the bedtime story, the car ride without the iPod, video game or fold-down DVD.

**DO** take time to hang out with your kids. Do mundane, nontechnological things: wash the car together, play Ping-Pong, debate politics, take them out for ice cream (no cell phones or iPods allowed). Spend time together with ears and eyes available from them.

me that there's almost a discomfort with not being stimulated—a kind of 'I can't stand the silence.'

Gen M's multitasking habits have social and psychological implications as well. If you're IMing four friends while watching *That '70s Show*, it's not the same as sitting on the couch with your buddies or your sisters and watching the show together. Or sharing a family meal across a table. Thousands of years of evolution created human physical communication—facial expressions, body language—that puts broadband to shame in its ability to convey meaning and create bonds. What happens, wonders UCLA's Ochs, as we replace side-by-side and eye-to-eye human connections with quick, disembodied e-exchanges? Those are critical issues not just for social scientists but for parents and teachers trying to understand—and do right by—Generation M.

## YOUR BRAIN WHEN IT MULTITASKS

ALTHOUGH MANY ASPECTS OF THE NETWORKED life remain scientifically uncharted, there's substantial literature on how the brain handles multitasking. And basically, it doesn't. It may seem that a teenage girl is writing an instant message, burning a CD and telling her mother that she's doing

homework—all at the same time—but what's really going on is a rapid toggling among tasks rather than simultaneous processing. "You're doing more than one thing, but you're ordering them and deciding which one to do at any one time," explains neuroscientist Grafman.

Then why can we so easily walk down the street while engrossed in a deep conversation? Why can we chop onions while watching *Jeopardy?* "We, along with quite a few others, have been focused on exactly this question," says Hal Pashler, psychology professor at the University of California at San Diego. It turns out that very automatic actions or what researchers call "highly practiced skills," like walking or chopping an onion, can be easily done while thinking about other things, although the decision to add an extra onion to a recipe or change the direction in which you're walking is another matter. "It seems that action planning—figuring out what I want to say in response to a person's question or which way I want to steer the car—is usually, perhaps invariably, performed sequentially" or one task at a time, says Pashler. On the other hand, producing the actions you've decided on—moving your hand on the steering wheel, speaking the words you've formulated—can be performed "in parallel with planning some other action." Similarly, many aspects of perception

—looking, listening, touching—can be performed in parallel with action planning and with movement.

The switching of attention from one task to another, the toggling action, occurs in a region right behind the forehead called Brodmann's Area 10 in the brain's anterior prefrontal cortex, according to a functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) study by Grafman's team. Brodmann's Area 10 is part of the frontal lobes, which "are important for maintaining long-term goals and achieving them," Grafman explains. "The most anterior part allows you to leave something when it's incomplete and return to the same place and continue from there." This gives us a "form of multitasking," he says, though it's actually sequential processing. Because the prefrontal cortex is one of the last regions of the brain to mature and one of the first to decline with aging, young children do not multitask well, and neither do most adults over 60. New fMRI studies at Toronto's Rotman Research Institute suggest that as we get older, we have more trouble "turning down background thoughts when turning to a new task," says Rotman senior scientist and assistant director Cheryl Grady. "Younger adults are better at tuning out stuff when they want to," says Grady. "I'm in my 50s, and I know that I can't work and listen to music with lyrics; it was easier when I was younger."

## A Dad's Encounter with The Vortex of Facebook

By MICHAEL DUFFY

**A** mom I know asked her 15-year-old daughter recently about her math homework. The teenager, not exactly sure what was due when, replied that she'd "Facebook" someone for the assignment. Why not use the telephone? the mom wanted to know. Her daughter rolled her eyes at that one.

Where I live, just outside Washington, Facebook.com is both noun and verb, the unchallenged colossus of adolescent communication that works like the telephone, the back fence, the class bulletin board (and, at times, the locker room), all rolled into one virtual mosh pit. In other

towns, MySpace.com plays the same starring role. In both cases, they have legions of parents pulling out their hair.

Here's why: those online social networks have become, almost overnight, boozing teen magnets exerting an almost irresistible pull on kids' time and attention. Though both sites are only two years old, MySpace is the No. 2 most-trafficked spot on the Internet; Facebook is No. 7, right behind Google. MySpace is open to anyone with an e-mail address; Facebook requires members to be affiliated with a college or a high school, which is why it's the preferred virtual reality in my household.

Created by a Harvard student, Facebook started out as a digital



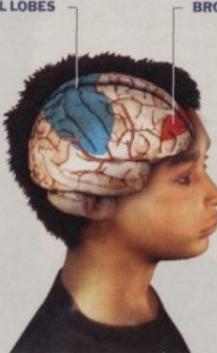
version of those little photo guides of incoming college freshmen and quickly expanded to include the student bodies of more than 2,100 colleges. Last fall, high schools were invited to join, and now Facebook has 7 million members. Like all secret societies, it has its own language, passageways and handshakes. You can

"poke" a friend—sort of like a wink or a wave—without saying much more. You can check the "pulse" to see what movies, books and music are topping the charts at your school. You can post pictures of yourself and your friends, and there's a nifty feature that allows kids to create specialized sub-groups of Facebookers who share

# How the Brain Toggles

## THE MEDIAL PARIETAL LOBES

These areas are active when you are not focused on a task; they are considered default regions. When turning to a task, young adults do better than older adults in quieting the activity of the default regions. That may explain why older adults are more distracted by background thoughts ("Did I return that call?").



Imaging studies have begun to reveal the anatomy of multitasking. Young adults have some advantages

## BRODMANN'S AREA 10

This section of the anterior prefrontal cortex acts as the switching station for multitasking. fMRI studies show increased blood flow to that region when one turns from one task to another and when one resumes the first task. The prefrontal cortex is much more highly developed in humans than in lower primates. It is one of the last to mature in adolescence and one of the first to decline with aging. Young children and people over 60 tend to be less adept at multitasking than young adults.

But the ability to multiprocess has its limits, even among young adults. When people try to perform two or more related tasks either at the same time or alternating rapidly between them, errors go way up, and it takes far longer—often double the time or more—to get the jobs done than if they were done sequentially, says David E. Meyer, director of the Brain, Cognition and Action Laboratory at the University of Michigan. "The toll in terms of slowdown

is extremely large—amazingly so," Meyer frequently tests Gen M students in his lab, and he sees no exception for them, despite their "mystique" as master multitaskers. "The bottom line is that you can't simultaneously be thinking about your tax return and reading an essay, just as you can't talk to yourself about two things at once," he says. "If a teenager is trying to have a conversation on an e-mail chat line while doing algebra, she'll suffer a decrease in efficiency,

hobbies, obsessions great and small or inside jokes. And then there's "the wall," which may be Facebook's most distinctive feature. It's the place on every member's site where friends can post messages, have conversations and just generally keep up. The wall makes sense in one respect: it's easy and fun to spot an incoming message. But in another it's curious: you can peruse the postings of everyone else at your school. Which means the wall is one of those giveaway clues about Generation M: teenagers think their lives are private just so long as their parents aren't tuning in.

As a social-networking tool, these sites have become almost indispensable. But they have their darker passages too. When students began posting pictures of themselves at parties holding a beer and leaving messages that were hurtful, defamatory or demeaning, schools began con-

sidering ways to regulate the speech on the site. Some high schools have officially banned Facebook as well as MySpace activity during the school day and discouraged kids from spending time on those sites after hours. Colleges can't begin to enforce such bans, but many have groups studying how to control bad behavior or have issued guidelines. And they have discovered a powerful incentive for improving digital deportment, informing students that a variety of employers admit they check applicants' Facebook pages for clues to their personalities before making job offers. "Most of the people who use Facebook," says the company's marketing director, Melanie Deitch, "realize that anything you post there is public information."

A few cases of online friendships that turned violent or even homicidal have pressured social-

network sites to provide better security for their members. Facebook recently overhauled its privacy settings to give members tighter controls over who sees what.

But to me the bigger worry with those sites isn't so much the privacy or security issues, though those are real enough. It's the sheer amount of screen-sucking time they consume in lives that are already overscheduled. Being a teenager is one enormous exercise in time management. Watching my kids try to juggle school, homework, sports, music lessons and sleep, I sometimes think my life is easier than theirs. That's partly because I have some tools they lack, but it's also because I think I know an abyss when I see one. Facebook is one giant time vortex—a black hole of chatter—and for many kids it's hard to find an exit. Under its influence, 90 minutes of homework ends up taking four to five hours,

says Dr. Alan Goodwin, principal of

Walt Whitman High School in Bethesda, Md. Those sites are "a huge distraction."

At our house, we haven't banned Facebook entirely. Instead, we've had a lot of conversations about what is appropriate speech and then checked to make sure those conversations stuck. And we've tried to restrict Internet access during homework hours. I say "tried" because I'm sure my 15-year-old knows several ways around all the password protections I set up in recent months. (In trying to erect one barricade a few weeks ago, I accidentally deleted half his homework for a semester. That was a fun day.)

Facebook reports its members spend an average of 18 minutes on the site each day. I asked my son last week if that number sounded right to him. You know what he did? He just rolled his eyes at me. —With reporting by Lissa August/Washington

erations. In lecture halls with wireless Internet access—now more than 40% of college classrooms, according to the Campus Computing Project—the compulsion to multitask can get out of hand. “People are going to lectures by some of the greatest minds, and they are doing their mail,” says Sherry Turkle, professor of the social studies of science and technology at M.I.T. In her class, says Turkle, “I tell them this is not a place for e-mail, it’s not a place to do online searches and not a place to set up IRC [Internet relay chat] channels in which to comment on the class. It’s not going to help if there are parallel discussions about how boring it is. You’ve got to get people to participate in the world as it is.”

Such concerns have, in fact, led a number of schools, including the M.B.A. programs at UCLA and the University of Virginia, to look into blocking Internet access during lectures. “I tell my students not to treat me like TV,” says University of Wisconsin professor Aaron Brower, who has been teaching social work for 20 years. “They have to think of me like a real person talking. I want to have them thinking about things we’re talking about.”

On the positive side, Gen M students tend to be extraordinarily good at finding and manipulating information. And presumably because modern childhood tilts toward visual rather than print media, they are especially skilled at analyzing visual data and images, observes Claudia Koonz, professor of history at Duke University. A growing number of college professors are using film, audio clips and PowerPoint presentations to play to their students’ strengths and capture their evanescent attention. It’s a powerful way to teach history, says Koonz. “I love bringing media into the classroom, to be able to go to the website for Edward R. Murrow and hear his voice as he walked with the liberators of Buchenwald.” Another adjustment to teaching Generation M: professors are assigning fewer full-length books and more excerpts and articles. (Koonz, however, was stunned when a student matter-of-factly informed her, “We don’t read whole books anymore,” after Koonz had assigned a 350-page volume. “And this is Duke!” she says.)

Many students make brilliant use of media in their work, embedding audio files and video clips in their presentations, but the habit of grazing among many data streams leaves telltale signs in their writing, according to some educators. “The breadth of their knowledge and their ability to find answers has just burgeoned,” says



Roberts of his students at Stanford, “but my impression is that their ability to write clear, focused and extended narratives has eroded somewhat.” Says Koonz: “What I find is paragraphs that make sense internally, but don’t necessarily follow a line of argument.”

Koonz and Turkle believe that today’s students are less tolerant of ambiguity than the students they taught in the past. “They demand clarity,” says Koonz. They want identifiable good guys and bad guys, which she finds problematic in teaching complex topics like Hutu-Tutsi history in Rwanda. She also thinks there are political implications: “Their belief in the simple answer, put together in a visual way, is, I think, dangerous.” Koonz thinks this aversion to complexity is directly related to multitasking: “It’s as if they have too many windows

## **“[Students] can’t go a few almost a discomfort with no**

open on their hard drive. In order to have a taste for sifting through different layers of truth, you have to stay with a topic and pursue it deeply, rather than go across the surface with your toolbar.” She tries to encourage her students to find a quiet spot on campus to just think, cell phone off, laptop packed away.

### **GOT 2 GO. TXT ME L8ER**

BUT TURNING DOWN THE NOISE ISN’T EASY. By the time many kids get to college, their devices have become extensions of themselves, indispensable social accessories.



NOURISH / C. J. BRUNSWICK

back that say things like 'Oh, my God, I'm wearing the same shoes!' After school we talk about what happened that day, what outfit we want to wear the next day."

Turkle, author of the recently reissued *The Second Self: Computers and the Human Spirit*, has an explanation for this breathless exchange of inanities. "There's an extraordinary fit between the medium and the moment, a heady, giddy fit in terms of social needs." The online environment, she points out, "is less risky if you are lonely and afraid of intimacy, which is almost a definition of adolescence. Things get too hot, you log off, while in real time and space, you have consequences." Teen venues like MySpace, Xanga and Facebook—and the ways kids can personalize their IM personas—meet another teen need: the desire to experiment with identity. By changing their picture, their "away" message, their icon or list of favorite bands, kids can cycle through different personalities. "Online life is like an identity workshop," says Turkle, "and that's the job of adolescents—to experiment with identity."

All that is probably healthy, provided that parents set limits on where their kids can venture online, teach them to exercise caution and regulate how much time they can spend with electronics in general. The problem is that most parents don't. According to the Kaiser survey, only 23% of seventh- to 12th-graders say their family has rules about computer activity; just 17% say they have restrictions on video-game time.

In the absence of rules, it's all too easy for kids to wander into unwholesome neighborhoods on the Net and get caught up in the compulsive behavior that psy-

## GETTING THEM TO LOG OFF

MANY EDUCATORS AND PSYCHOLOGISTS SAY parents need to actively ensure that their teenagers break free of compulsive engagement with screens and spend time in the physical company of human beings—a growing challenge not just because technology offers such a handy alternative but because so many kids lead highly scheduled lives that leave little time for old-fashioned socializing and family meals. Indeed, many teenagers and college students say overcommitted schedules drive much of their multitasking.

Just as important is for parents and educators to teach kids, preferably by example, that it's valuable, even essential, to occasionally slow down, unplug and take time to think about something for a while. David Levy, a professor at the University of Washington Information School, has found, to his surprise, that his most technophilic undergraduates—those majoring in "informatics"—are genuinely concerned about getting lost in the multitasking blur. In an informal poll of 60 students last semester, he says, the majority expressed concerns about how plugged-in they were and "the way it takes them away from other activities, including exercise, meals and sleep." Levy's students talked about difficulties concentrating and their efforts to break away, get into the outdoors and inside their head. "Although it wasn't a scientific survey," he says, "it was the first evidence I had that people in this age group are reflecting on these questions."

For all the handwringing about Generation M, technology is not really the problem. "The problem," says Hallowell, "is what you are *not* doing if the electronic moment grows too large"—too large for the teenager and too large for those parents who are equally tethered to their gadgets. In that case, says Hallowell, "you are not having family dinner, you are not having conversations, you are not debating whether to go out with a boy who wants to have sex on the first date, you are not going on a family ski trip or taking time just to veg. It's not so much that the video game is going to rot your brain, it's what you are not doing that's going to rot your life."

Generation M has a lot to teach parents and teachers about what new technology can do. But it's up to grownups to show them what it can't do, and that there's life beyond the screen. —With reporting by Wendy Cole/Chicago, Sonja Steptoe/Los Angeles and Sarah Sturmon Dale/Minneapolis

**minutes without talking on their cell phones. There's being stimulated—a kind of 'I can't stand the silence.'"**

—DONALD ROBERTS, Stanford professor

"The minute the bell rings at most big public high schools, the first thing most kids do is reach into their bag and pick up their cell phone," observes Denise Clark Pope, lecturer at the Stanford School of Education, "never mind that the person [they're contacting] could be right down the hall."

Parents are mystified by this obsession with e-communication—particularly among younger adolescents who often can't wait to share the most mundane details of life. Dominique Jones, 12, of Los Angeles, likes to IM her friends before school to find out what they plan to wear. "You'll get IMs

chiarist Edward Hallowell dubs "screensucking" in his new book, *CrazyBusy*. Patricia Wallace, a techno-psychologist who directs the Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth program, believes part of the allure of e-mail—for adults as well as teens—is similar to that of a slot machine. "You have intermittent, variable reinforcement," she explains. "You are not sure you are going to get a reward every time or how often you will, so you keep pulling that handle. Why else do people get up in the middle of the night to check their e-mail?"

Steven Johnson

# Don't Fear the Digital

It's dumbing down our kids? Hardly. Why plugging in is good for you

**M**Y HANDWRITING SKILLS PEAKED SOMETIME IN MY 12TH year, shortly after I took a summer typing class. A few months later my parents bought a personal computer. Before long my writing life migrated to the keyboard, and my handwriting began its steady decline to the pained, barely legible scrawl that it is today.

A penmanship expert would look at that sorry trend and say, "What a disaster! The adoption of the personal computer has led to a marked deterioration of an important communication skill." But that assessment would be meaningless without factoring in all the benefits I've enjoyed from switching to the keyboard. Not only can I put words together at 10 times the speed of using pen and paper, but I can also transfer those words to the digital realm, where they can be edited, spell-checked, e-mailed, quoted, blogged and Googled.

In fact, the benefits so dramatically outweigh the costs that if I had to do away with either handwriting or typing for the rest of my life, I'd give up handwriting in a heartbeat. I suspect many others would do the same.

Any time a new technology comes along, an implicit cost-benefit analysis gets made. The trouble with the current debate about Generation M is that we have a phalanx of experts lined up to measure the costs but only a vague, intuitive sense of the benefits.

Start with the costs. Is all this screen time diminishing the kids' face-to-face social skills?

Hardly. Remember, the total number of hours spent in front of a screen has not increased over the past 10 years. Teenagers are irrepressibly social animals; it's in their DNA. They're not using the technology to replace their real-world social life; they're using technology to augment it.

No doubt there is some truth to the belief that multitasking in front of a screen (or screens) can make it harder for us to focus on contemplative single-task projects like reading a book or solving quadratic equations. But are there benefits that might outweigh those costs? The crucial trend is not the number of hours teenagers spend in front of the screen but rather the dramatic increase in cognitive engagement that the screen demands of them.

Twenty or 30 years ago, we sat in submissive wonder soak-

ing up the magic of *Three's Company* and *Who's the Boss?* Today's kids see the screen as an environment to be explored, inhabited, shared and shaped. They're blogging. They're building their MySpace pages. They're constructing elaborate fan sites for their favorite artists or TV shows. They're playing immensely complicated games, like *Civilization IV*—one of the most popular computer games in the U.S. last fall—in which players re-create the entire course of human economic and technological history.

I believe this dramatic spike in digital participation is, for the most part, sharpening the minds of Generation M, not dumbing them down. But it's hard to see that improvement without the right yardstick. The skills they're developing are not trivial. They're learning to analyze complex systems with many interacting variables, to master new interfaces, to find and validate information in vast databases, to build and maintain extensive social networks crossing both virtual and real-world environments, to adapt existing technology to new uses. And they're learning all this in their spare time—for fun!

Now ask yourself this question: In the offices of the future, which skill set will today's kids draw upon in their day-to-day tasks? Mastering interfaces, searching for information, maintaining virtual social networks and multitasking? Or doing algebra? I think the answer is ob-

vious. It's a good bet that 99% of kids will never use algebra again after they graduate from high school. And yet thanks to the testing establishment, we know a staggering amount about the algebraic skills of today's teenagers but next to nothing about the skills they're actually going to use.

None of this means that schools should give up Intro to Calculus for *Civilization IV* and Blogging 101. Kids should have a balanced media diet: surfing and gaming alongside old-fashioned reading. (Not to mention going outdoors to toss a football around.) Yes, popular culture can be addictive and time consuming. Yes, you sometimes have to draw the line. The same is true of all social interactions, as any parent of a teenager will tell you. But how can you figure out where to draw the line if you can't measure the benefits and costs? To plan a balanced diet, you need to know something about the nutrients in all the food groups, not just the ones that have tradition on their side.



**Steven Johnson** is the author of *Everything Bad Is Good for You: How Today's Popular Culture Is Actually Making Us Smarter*

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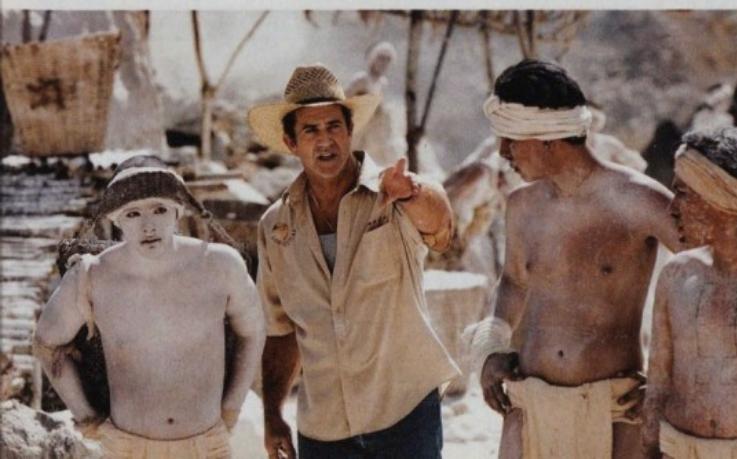
MOVIES

# APOCALYPTO NOW

**EXCLUSIVE: You'd think Mel Gibson was all done with violent movies about the past told in a foreign tongue, right? Think again**

By TIM PADGETT VERACRUZ

"I NEED TO SEE THE BLOOD!" SHOUTS MEL GIBSON. "YOUR CHARACTER IS GOING TO die soon!" He picks up a bullhorn: "Attention! We are all dying here! We are all *dying!*" The Oscar-winning director is standing in a rock quarry near Veracruz, Mexico, shooting a hellish scene for *Apocalypto*, his action epic about the ancient Maya. Hundreds of local extras—many of whom have never seen a movie, let alone acted in one—are pounding fake limestone to build a temple used for human sacrifices. Gibson wants one of the extras, covered in white lime dust, to visibly cough



## FIRST LOOK

**THE WHITE STUFF:** Captives are led through a hellish limestone quarry on their way to slavery—or a human-sacrifice altar—in an opulent but brutal Maya city. In the film, the amount of wood used in the limestone kilns leads to massive deforestation.

**MAD MAYA:** Gibson explains to some extras what he wants for a scene. To preserve authenticity, much of the cast for *Apocalypto* was selected from towns near the Veracruz film set. Many cast members had never even seen a movie, let alone worked on one.

up a glob of fake blood. But something keeps getting lost in translation. Take after take, the young man, who speaks only Spanish, politely covers his mouth as he hacks. A second candidate for the role does the same. Gibson finally lets out a tortured howl, digs vainly for a cigarette in his empty pack of Camels and turns the set into his own Thunderdome. The translator does his best to convey the passion of the Mel.

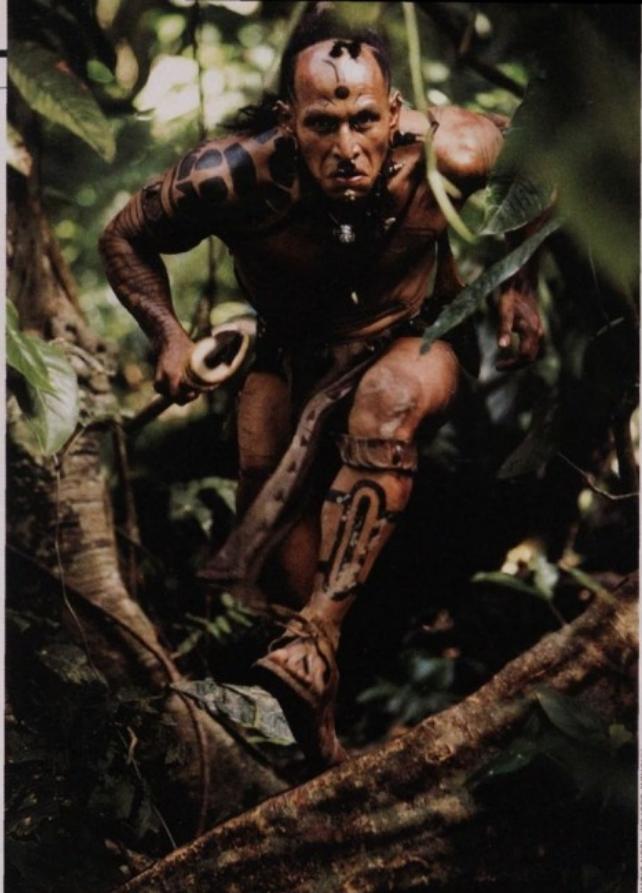
The blasts turn to laughs soon after when, to lighten the mood, Gibson has the crew bring out a stuffed jaguar and

**“The fearmongering we depict in this film reminds me a little of President Bush and his guys.”**

—MEL GIBSON

leads the extras running away in mock terror. But later he admits to TIME, which this month was given the first look at *Apocalypto's* production, that the utter inexperience of most of the cast is a price he's paying for the authentic feel he wants in the film, in which dialogue is spoken solely in Yucatec Maya. If people were imagining that Gibson, 50, might coast a little after his 2004 movie, *The Passion of the Christ*, inspired not only months of controversy but also nearly \$1 billion worth of ticket sales, the director has given his answer: Nope. If anything, this film is a more ambitious project than *The Passion*—although success does make some things a mite easier. Gibson had to walk a via dolorosa to find a distributor for *The Passion* and ended up distributing it more or less himself, but Disney's Touchstone Pictures needed only to read *Apocalypto's* script before signing on to release it in early August.

The *Passion* experience—especially the part in which critics hurled anti-Semitism charges at Gibson, an ultraconservative Roman Catholic whose father has questioned whether the Holocaust happened—thickened Gibson's hide along with his wallet. So if there are complaints about *Apocalypto's* portrayal of human sacrifice by the Maya, whose mostly impoverished descendants today are a cause célèbre for liberals, Gibson says he won't care. “After what I experienced



**RUN FAST, CARRY A BIG STICK:** One of the sinister warriors, Middle Eye (Gerardo Taracena), pursues the film's hero, Jaguar Paw, in a chase sequence through the forest

with *The Passion*, I frankly don't give a flying f\_\_\_ about much of what those critics think.”

Still, he likes to confound expectations—he wears a cross containing relics of martyred saints, but he can swear like a Quentin Tarantino character—and those who peg him as a reactionary may be surprised to learn that his new film sounds warnings straight out of liberal Hollywood's bible. *Apocalypto*, which Gibson loosely translates from the Greek as “a new beginning,” was inspired in large part by his work with the Mirador Basin Project, an effort to preserve a large swath of the Guatemalan rain forest and its Maya ruins. Gibson and his rookie cowriter on *Apocalypto*, Farhad Safinia, were captivated by the ancient Maya, one of the hemisphere's first great

civilizations, which reached its zenith about A.D. 600 in southern Mexico and northern Guatemala. The two began poring over Maya myths of creation and destruction, including the Popol Vuh, and research suggesting that ecological abuse and war-mongering were major contributors to the Maya's sudden collapse, some 500 years before Europeans arrived in the Americas.

Those apocalyptic strains haunt *Apocalypto*, which takes place in an opulent but decaying Maya kingdom, whose leaders insist that if the gods are not appeased by more temples and human sacrifices, the crops will die. But the writers hope that the larger themes of decline will be a wake-up call. “The parallels between the environmental imbalance and corruption of val-

◀ open here

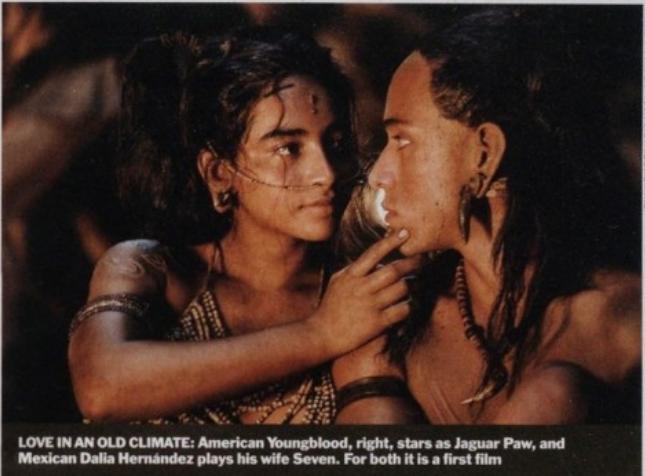
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HOTELS & RESORTS



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**LOVE IN AN OLD CLIMATE:** American Youngblood, right, stars as Jaguar Paw, and Mexican Dalia Hernández plays his wife Seven. For both it is a first film

ues that doomed the Maya and what's happening to our own civilization are eerie," says Safinia. Gibson, who insists ideology matters less to him than stories of "penitential hardship" like his Oscar-winning *Braveheart*, puts it more bluntly: "The fear-mongering we depict in this film reminds me a little of President Bush and his guys."

But the project also fulfills Gibson's need for speed. The hunk who played Mad Max 27 years ago wants to "shake up the stale action-adventure genre," which he feels has been taken hostage by computer-generated imagery (CGI), stock stories and shallow characters. To rattle the cage, he says, "we had to think of something utterly different." The Mad Maya hero in *Apocalypto* is Jaguar Paw. His escape through the Mexican rain forest will "feel like a car chase that just keeps turning the screws," says Gibson, flashing one of his patented bug-eyed expressions. True to the no-pain, no-gain credo of his other films, *Apocalypto* seeks to deliver enough pre-Columbian punishment—like the decidedly non-CGI mauling of a character by an animal—to rival the medieval gore of *Braveheart*. "I get pretty banged up in some pretty awful ways," says film newcomer Rudy Youngblood, 25, the Comanche and Cree Indian from Texas who plays Jaguar Paw.

Gibson is betting the chase will feel even hairier thanks to a new digital camera system, Panavision's Genesis, that yields a "tremendous sensation of velocity," says cinematographer Dean Semler, who won an Oscar for *Dances with Wolves*. All the doom and zoom sound fun, but the ancient Maya

are also called the Greeks of the New World—they invented the concept of zero, built astonishing cities and used a more complex calendar than ours. Gibson insists the glory gets its close-ups too. Says Richard Hansen, a Maya scholar at Idaho State

**“The parallels between [what] doomed the Maya and what’s happening to our own civilization are eerie.”**

—FARHAD SAFINIA  
*Apocalypto* cowriter

University, head of the Mirador Basin Project and a consultant for *Apocalypto*: "This is by far the best treatment—the first treatment really—of the Maya any film has ever done. I'm amazed at the detail Mel's shooting for."

In fact, says veteran production designer Tom Sanders, *Apocalypto* "is the hardest show I've ever worked on." Stacks of archaeology books and magazines are strewn about a massive warehouse in Veracruz, where an army of costume and makeup artisans from Mexico and Italy are painstaking-

ingly re-creating feathers of the nearly extinct quetzal for royal headdresses and long, looping earlobe extensions for warriors. (Because those prostheses are difficult to apply, the actors must wear them for days on end, which rather spooks fellow guests at the Fiesta Americana Hotel.) This month Gibson starts filming at a sprawling and meticulously appointed city of Maya pyramids and markets that Sanders' crew spent six months building outside Veracruz. It all suggests a *Titanic*-size budget, but Gibson will say only that his production company, Icon, is spending less than \$50 million. (*The Passion* cost \$30 million.)

Given that controversy hit his last film months before it even finished production, Gibson has been careful to build Meso-American goodwill for *Apocalypto*: two-thirds of the cast and crew are Mexican, and Gibson has donated \$1 million to communities in Veracruz state affected by Hurricane Stan last year. Mexican cast members like Mayra Sérbulo, 30, a Zapotec Indian who plays a villager, say they expect some criticism of the film from Mexican nationalists (who also tore into Salma Hayek's *Frida*), especially since it touches on the raw issue of human sacrifice, which scholars don't believe was a prevalent Maya practice until the post-classic period, after A.D. 900, when fiercer influences like the Toltecs and Aztecs arrived. It is in that period, not coincidentally, that *Apocalypto* is set. "But I'm frankly surprised and excited that someone is making a film about an indigenous Mexican culture that most Mexicans don't even know all that well," says Sérbulo. "I feel valued by this movie."

Gibson nonetheless is a lightning rod—pro-Mel and anti-Mel blogs abound on the Internet—and he knows that even non-Mexican detractors will ask why, if he's so morbidly fascinated with the bloody deeds of Jewish Pharisees and Maya priests, he doesn't hold a mirror to his own church and film the Spanish Inquisition. Gibson won't say that's a future plan, but he nods and agrees that "there are monsters in every culture."

The more immediate question is whether *Apocalypto* can repeat *The Passion's* success. After all, devout Christians willing to sit through Latin and Aramaic dialogue to see Christ crucified vastly outnumber Maya scholars. Gibson seems certain that the film's "kinetic energy" will make Maya language and culture "cool" enough to attract a crowd. Maya prophecy says the current world, which began 5,000 years ago, will end in 2012. So, even if *Apocalypto* flops, Gibson will at least have given the Maya one last chance to get the word out. ■

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UPSTAGED BY ENTS: The hobbits meet ancient tree creatures in Fangorn Forest



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THEATER

# Gandalf in Greasepaint

The *Lord of the Rings* musical (yep, musical) moves heaven and Middle-earth to do the trilogy justice

By RICHARD CORLISS TORONTO

**I**N EERIE STROBE LIGHT, A BLACK RIDER rears its steed (a man and puppet on stilts), sending fearful hobbits scurrying. Dead men rise from the Marshes (a roiling silver sheet) to make war against Sauron's legions. In the Mountains of Moria, Gandalf battles the enormous Balrog (an Erector-set confection with steaming orange eyes) as the sound effects roar and a strong wind gusts from the stage, spraying the audience with a blizzard of black confetti. As for Frodo, he not only lives, he also sings in the new version of *The Lord of the Rings*, opening this week at the Princess of Wales Theatre in Toronto.

A stage musical of J.R.R. Tolkien's fantasy saga? Good Lord, why? Well, for starters, because the original three-volume story was



filled with music—more than 50 songs that added levity and lyricism to the military drumbeat of its narrative. And also because: Why not? *LOTR* is certainly an alluring franchise; it's one of the most popular and beloved works in publishing history and (sorry, George Lucas) the all-time top-grossing movie trilogy. So producer Kevin Wallace raised about \$24 million, from private and Canadian government sources, to mount a 3½-hr. epic—the longest musical this side of Wagner—and the most expensive Broadway-style show ever, though it's at least two years from playing New York City.

The preparation for a typical musical has its familiar anxieties: cutting a favorite song, replacing a dialogue scene, finding some extra business for the star. That's nothing compared with the three-year ordeal of bringing Middle-earth to life. The mostly British creative team, beginning with playwright Shaun McKenna, had to figure out how to choreograph the complex battles Tolkien described; how to visualize the dozen realms in the saga and the dozens of characters of many species; how to blend narrative, drama and music in

**FRODO SINGS** James Loya, with Peter Howe as Sam, is the stout-hearted hobbit



**ONE SHOW TO BRING THEM ALL.** The musical conjures up, clockwise from top, Lothlórien's Elves, the Black Riders and, of course, Gandalf

a three-act production—and do it all without retakes or post-production computer effects. Most daunting was the task of satisfying all those Tolkienites whose image of Middle-earth has been shaped by many readings of the sacred text and latterly by Peter Jackson's Oscar-laden film versions.

If it occurs to you that the idea is mad, you aren't the first. "I thought it was foolish," said director Matthew Warchus. He believed it would be "instantly plausible" to do the *Ring* as a spoof. "It's such an earnest story, and people are so protective of it." Still, he signed on. Then he and musical supervisor Christopher Nightingale chose to break with the Broadway songwriting style and go for an ethereal, world-music sound. Two sounds, in fact: one from A.R. Rahman, the best-selling composer of Indian musical films; the other from the Finnish group Värttinä.

That produced a fascinating musical fusion, but it didn't allay the doubts that most of the creators had, straight through re-

hearsals, about their quest and their sanity. Says set and costume designer Rob Howell: "Every other day one of us was wondering out loud, 'What. Are. We. Doing?'"

What they have done, as a visit to the show in its last week of previews revealed, is to create a robust summary and emotional evocation of the story—the one *LOTR* you can consume in a single evening and say, with a satisfied smile, "Yes. That's it."

The hobbits—leprechaunish, with round bellies and bottoms, like the Munchkins in MGM's *Oz*—are persuasively played by jockey-size actors. The Shire and its environs are suggested less by sets than by delicately sylvan projections. Rivendell's High Elves are just that: they rise and float serenely (on wires) above the hobbits. The Winnebago-size Shelob tries to wrap her spidery tentacles around a struggling Frodo with the help of six black-clad puppets.

This *LOTR* can't match Cirque du Soleil's Las Vegas martial-arts extravaganza

Kà for soaring athleticism or technical ledgeremain. The visualization of battle scenes is often pedestrian, and toward the end, the choreography makes the Orcs look less like brutal mercenaries than clumsy backup singers. But if the show's ingenuity stumbles now and then, its narrative is always clear and poignant. It locates the melancholy soul at the heart of Tolkien's adventure story.

And what of the music? The first hour suggests an ambitious but conventional musical, with a rousing drinking song and some lovely Elvish ballads that, as one hobbit in the show says, are "like wine for the ears." But as the tale darkens and deepens, *LOTR* turns into musical drama, with songs replaced by underscoring of the battles. The last real song,

and it's a beaut, comes at the end of Act II: Frodo and his friend Sam Gamgee sing in reminiscence of the Shire they love, "Now and for always."

The cast is well led by James Loya as Frodo and Peter Howe as Sam. Brent Carver, a Tony winner for *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, turns Gandalf into a curious, wispy thing, with eccentric line readings and maudlin instead of majesty. But Michael Therriault's Gollum is a sensation. As he hisses, squeals and

writhes to express Gollum's two warring psyches (the hobbit he was, the half-life wreck his ring lust has made of him), Therriault gives the most astonishing, show-stealingly schizo performance since Steve Martin's half-man-half-woman in *All of Me*.

At one point, Bilbo, the hobbit whose accidental custodianship of the ring would lead to the War of Middle-earth, plaintively asks, "Don't adventures ever have an end?" For Wallace, Warchus & Co., the answer is: not this one, not yet. They plan a London opening of *LOTR* a year from now, then Berlin or Hamburg, perhaps Broadway in 2008. (Contracts that Wallace has signed with his Canadian co-producers require that Toronto be the show's only North American venue for 18 months.) But, McKenna insists, "this isn't a tryout. This is the real thing."

He's right. If this isn't quite the one *Ring* to rule them all, it's the real Middle-earth deal. Against odds that would make Aragorn wince, the *Ring* fellowship has staged a definitive megamusical, nearly 350 miles north of Times Square. For now, Broadway is off-Toronto. —Reported by Steven Frank/Toronto

# The Unholy Alliance

Kevin Phillips believes the U.S. is threatened by a combination of petroleum, preachers and debt

By RICHARD LACAYO

**American Theocracy** by Kevin Phillips (Times Books, \$25) is available at [www.time.com/timebooks](http://www.time.com/timebooks).  
  
 IT'S BEEN DECADES SINCE IT made sense to call Kevin Phillips a Republican strategist. The g.o.p. he used to strategize for, the one whose electoral triumph he foretold in his 1969 book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, got away from him a long time ago. The party it developed into, the one in which evangelical Christians carry lots of clout and budget balancers just about none, is not for him. With best sellers like *Wealth and Democracy*, about the widening split between rich and poor, and *American Dynasty*, which treated the Bush clan as well-connected mediocrities, he shifted to the role of ever more sour apostate. Don't expect him to be invited to the next Republican Convention, although it's not hard to imagine him standing outside with a sign warning against deficit spending, war for oil and the substitution of Scripture for science.

Actually, forget the sign. He will be getting the same message to more people with *American Theocracy* (Viking; 462 pages). The message is, bad times ahead. Writing in the spirit of Paul Kennedy's 1989 book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, Phillips is a declinist, and a persuasive one. Looking back to the collapse of the Spanish, Dutch and British empires, he has come to warn about a trio of threats to the U.S. that he believes is already taking it down the road to disaster, and not slowly.

One is the increasing domination of U.S. policy by the hunger for cheap oil in a world of dwindling supplies, which has led in turn to an obsession with projecting U.S. power across the endlessly volatile Middle East. Another is the spectacle of a Republican Party seriously under the sway of Christians who believe in biblical inerrancy, a reading of Scripture that inspires them to apoca-

lyptic obsessions with that same part of the world. Finally, there's the headlong growth of American debt of all kinds—household spending, a massive trade gap and a federal deficit that leaves American policy susceptible to the foreigners who buy the securities that keep the U.S. government afloat, and who could sink it with the decision to stop buying. His analysis sometimes depends on strained emphases, and his ca-



reer record as a prognosticator is mixed, but his book is an indispensable presentation of the case against things as they are.

Phillips believes there's no mystery as to why the U.S. went to war in Iraq. The reason was oil. His thinking goes this way. Geologists disagree about how long it will take before world production peaks, but not by much. Optimists give it 30 years, pessimists say five or 10. For a while in the 1970s the U.S. got serious, sort of, about energy conservation. Then it switched paths, driving an SUV right down the new one. Iraq, which nationalized its oil fields in the '70s, offered the prospect of a state with sizable reserves. For years American oil com-

panies had their eyes on them. Then George W. Bush came to the White House ready for any opportunity to invade. Sept. 11 provided the opening.

And when the opening came, Phillips says, Bush was ensured a cheering section from those elements of the Christian right fascinated by "end times" theology—the belief in Christ's imminent return, and the prospect of Armageddon beginning in the Middle East—popularized in brimstone best sellers like Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins' *Left Behind* novels. Phillips is convinced that many Americans underestimate the power of that idea among large parts of the electorate. For him, the g.o.p. has become the first religious party in American history, with a predictable effect on the White House policies on global AIDS, the teaching of evolution, gay marriage, global warming and environmental protection. (Who needs to take care of the world if it's coming to an end anyway?) Whatever you think about the influence of the LaHaye factor on Middle East policy, it's useful to point, as Phillips does, to polls suggesting that half of those who voted for Bush in 2004 believe in the word-for-word accuracy of the Bible.

The last part in his gloomy picture concerns the runaway growth of debt, and not just the massive increase in what you and I owe on credit cards and mortgages, although that opens the way to widespread defaults if the economy stumbles badly or real estate comes in for a hard landing. To cover its deficits in recent years, the U.S. became a huge debtor in overseas markets. That kind of borrow-

ing, Phillips reminds us, was a prelude to the collapse of earlier empires. "There have been no heavenly interventions on behalf of past leading international debtors," he says dryly. "The United States is on its own." ■

## FROM OUR CONTRIBUTORS



In *China Syndrome*, Karl Taro Greenfeld, former TIME Asia editor, chronicles the short, terrifying SARS epidemic of 2003, which unfolded while the world focused on Iraq.

His narrative winds through the streets of Hong Kong and Beijing and the wild-animal markets of Shenzhen as he tells the stories of doctors, patients, health officials and journalists who rise or fail to meet the challenge. ■

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# 5 GREAT NEW ALBUMS

Twee rock? Alt-country? Dirty R&B?  
We've got your favorite genre covered



**BELLE AND SEBASTIAN**  
*THE LIFE PURSUIT*

SCOTLAND'S most adorable rock collective continues to mess around with disco rhythms and glam-rock guitar licks, but the best songs on its sixth album are the ones that come on the softest. *Dress Up In You* is built on the same blueprint—sad piano, whispered Stuart Murdoch vocals and a gradual revelation that the song is sung from a female perspective—as many of B&S's earlier hits, while *Another Sunny Day* takes a pickup soccer game ("I saw you in the corner of my eye on the sidelines/ Your dark mascara bids me to historical deeds") and elevates it into a love story of epic proportions.



**NEKO CASE**  
*FOX CONFESSOR BRINGS THE FLOOD*

WHETHER SITTING IN WITH pop-punk group the New Pornographers or standing on her own as an alt-country princess, Case has always had a voice that lingers like a train whistle. What she hasn't had is an album worthy of her talent. The lyrics on this collection of gothic outsider tales feel a little reductive (*Star Witness* and *A Widow's Toast* are like undergrad verse about Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County), but with excellent backing from Calexico and Garth Hudson of the Band and flawless singing, Case sells them as undeniably haunting and catchy mood pieces.



**CYRUS CYRUS**  
*CHESTNUT*  
**GENUINE CHESTNUT**

WHAT MAKES

Chestnut the best jazz pianist of his generation is a willingness to abandon notes and to play space. He rescues Roberta Flack's *The First Time Ever I Saw Your Face* and Bread's truly horrible AM-radio hit *If* from years of accumulated treacle by tinkling out the barest hint of melody, confidently letting each note float around until it resolves itself in your head. He's equally adept at spelling his minimalism with funk on the original *Ellen's Song*, and closes with a solo version of *Lord, I Give Myself to You*, in which he harmonizes with himself in glorious fashion.



**GOLDFRAPP**  
*SUPERNATURE*

ALISON GOLDfrapp has described her band's third album as a "place to take part in fortnightly disco séances." If you like your dance divas nuttier than a fruitcake, she's definitely your gal. What's surprising is that Goldfrapp (who started out as the wordless howler on Tricky's finest albums) and

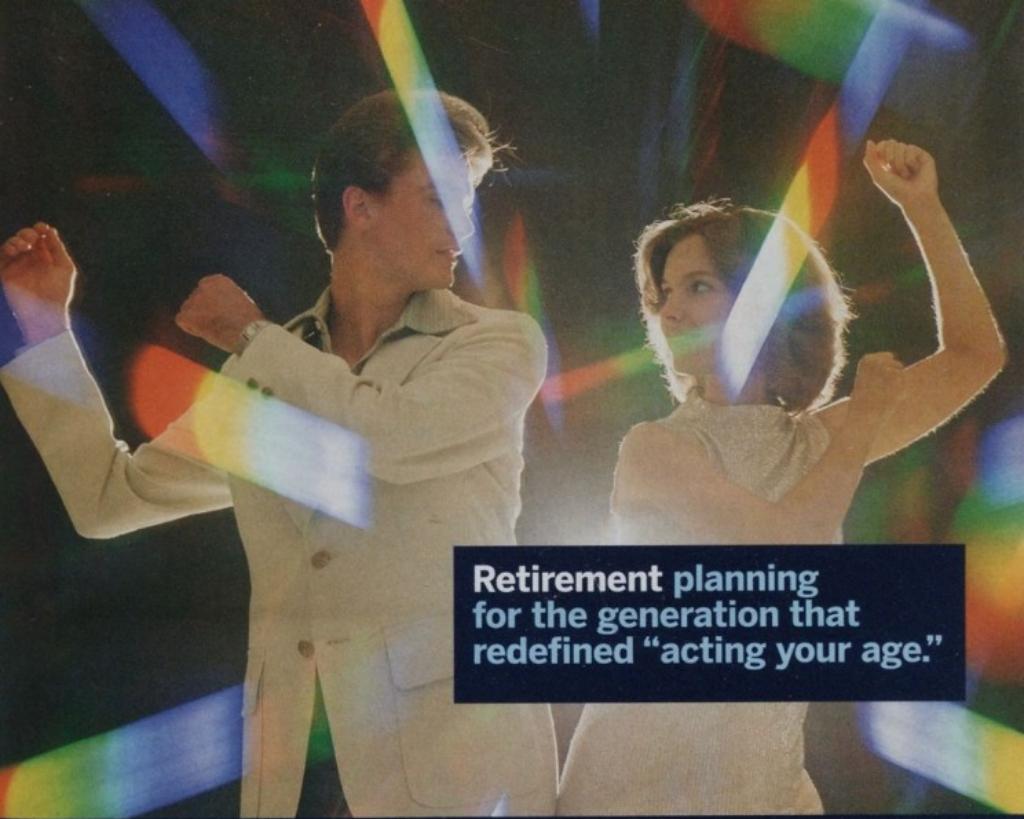
musical partner Will Gregory also have a sublime pop sensibility. *Ooh La La* is a sticky homage to Norman Greenbaum's *Spirit in the Sky* and Kylie Minogue's lyric book ("Switch me on/Turn me up"). Meanwhile, the synth-rock ballad *Number 1* has enough instantly memorable atmospherics to make its title prophetic.



**▲ NE-YO**  
*IN MY OWN WORDS*

UNLIKE MOST R&B singers, Ne-Yo writes his own material (or co-writes it, anyway), and the album title lets you know he would like a little respect for his work. The breakaway hit *So Sick*, a ballad about a brokenhearted guy who can't stop listening to broken-hearted ballads, delivers a light, genre-spoofing twist, but the other songs soar less on writerly sophistication than on Ne-Yo's deftness with a hook and particularly sincere brand of shamelessness. On *It Just Ain't Right*, he samples '80s legend DeBarge and confesses to an old girlfriend, "I'll be sexing her and I call your name"—a lyric that could have been written by a hundred of his predecessors, but only Ne-Yo would think to deliver it as if it were the world's highest compliment. It's not right, but it's certainly memorable. —By Josh Tyrangiel





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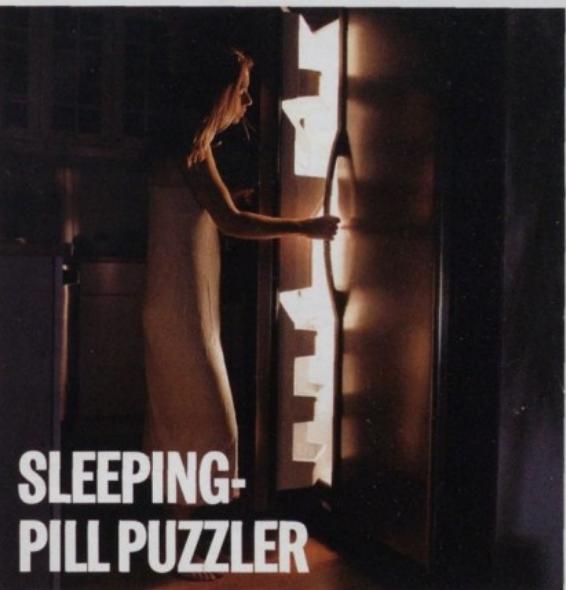
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## SLEEPING-PILL PUZZLER

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

EVERY ONCE IN A WHILE, A STORY ABOUT A BIZARRE PHARMACEUTICAL side effect races through the media like a brush fire on a dry, windy day. This time the blaze is coming from the hot-selling sleeping pill called Ambien and its apparent ability to compel some users to eat voraciously in their sleep. Never mind the fact that this particular side effect is seemingly rare—or that it was first reported four years ago. Thousands of sleep-deprived Americans are now wondering if Ambien could turn them into mega-munching zombies.

The news, such as it is, is that researchers at a Minnesota sleep-disorders center are going to publish a paper in which they have identified a few dozen people who, after taking

Ambien, developed uncontrollable urges to eat while they were asleep and didn't remember their feeding binges when they woke up. Meanwhile, in the popular press, there are

**26.6 million**  
Number of prescriptions filled for Ambien last year



sporadic accounts of folks driving their cars while under the influence of Ambien and even some claims of sleepwalking that turned into sleep driving.

This is a situation in which it's good to have an internist like Dr. Donna Sweet of Wichita, Kans., for a physician. "We're talking about a study with 32 people," says Sweet, who also chairs the board of the American College of

personally seen a case, either in Ambien users or nonusers. "Not that it doesn't happen, but sleep driving is very, very rare," Silber says. By contrast, he says, sleepwalking probably affects 1% to 2% of the population.

Like many other doctors, Silber and Sweet believe all sleeping pills are overprescribed and note that physicians may be giving their patients the heavily marketed drugs they ask for in order to focus what's left of their increasingly abbreviated office visit on more serious complaints.

So if you're having trouble sleeping, start by figuring out if your sleep habits need improving. Move the television out of the bedroom. Try going to sleep and waking up at the same hours every day, including weekends. Cut back on spicy foods and chocolate if you find yourself waking up with heartburn. Limit your intake of caffeine, which makes it more difficult to fall asleep, and alcohol, which causes a rebound effect that can wake you up. Practice meditation or other stress-reduction techniques. If none of those work, you can talk to your doctor about whether prescription sleeping pills make sense. But remember, they really are best suited for short-term use. ■

### TO SLEEP: PERCHANCE TO DREAM

The portion of Americans who report symptoms of a sleep problem has risen from 62% in 1999 to 75% in 2005

Sleeping pills are Big Business. U.S. sales of Ambien in 2005 were \$2.1 billion, followed by Lunesta at \$322 million and Sonata at \$117 million

**Six out of 10** American drivers reported having driven a car or motor vehicle while drowsy in 2005, up from 51% in 2000

**► ADVICE FROM A TRAVEL PRO**

Travel writer, parenting expert and mother of two, Emily Kaufman draws on her expertise in all those areas in *The Travel Mom's Ultimate Book of Family Travel*.

**TRAVEL MOM'S ULTIMATE BOOK OF FAMILY TRAVEL**  
BY EMILY KAUFMAN  
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Travel. She suggests a variety of destinations and itineraries and provides work sheets to help design trips that satisfy adults' interests and kids' dreams. She also offers tips on how to pack like a pro and includes Boredom Bags, suitable for long car rides and airport delays.

**► JUST THE FACTS, MOM**

Cadogan's *Take the Kids Traveling* gives comprehensive travel advice for parents looking to find suitable vacations for toddlers to teens, from luxury cruises to low-budget camping. Other books

in the series offer specific ideas for trips in England, France, Greece and the U.S. There's also a *Pick Your Brains* series to introduce 8- to 12-year-olds to a range of countries through quirky facts about customs, sports, schools and culture.

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY GUDRUN LARSEN

**WITH KIDS IN TOW**

With spring break and summer vacation looming, parents looking for a little quality travel time with their children can page through a new crop of travel guides—and some reissued classics—geared toward their special needs. Offering tips for finding the best activities for young and old and for minimizing the inevitable meltdowns, these books make planning a successful trip seem like child's play. —By Lisa McLaughlin

**68 LOCAL ADVENTURES**

The books in Fodor's *Around the City with Kids* series are all by parents who live in the place they write about. For each of 15 U.S. and foreign cities covered by the series, the authors suggest exactly 68 museums, monuments and activities—kid tested and rated for age appropriateness. The books provide info boxes filled with trivia about the attractions, pointers to child- and adult-friendly places to grab a bite to eat and warnings about when it's wiser to pack a lunch. There's a game section to keep everyone occupied while waiting in line.

**A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY**

Young readers ages 4 to 8 can learn all about their vacation destinations from Miroslav Sasek's iconic *This Is* series. Beginning with *This Is Paris* in 1959, Sasek spent more than a decade writing and illustrating these charming picture-book guides that explore the sights, history, foods and local customs of more than a dozen destinations, including New York, San Francisco, Venice, London and Edinburgh. The beloved books have been reissued and updated for a new generation of travelers and their nostalgic parents.

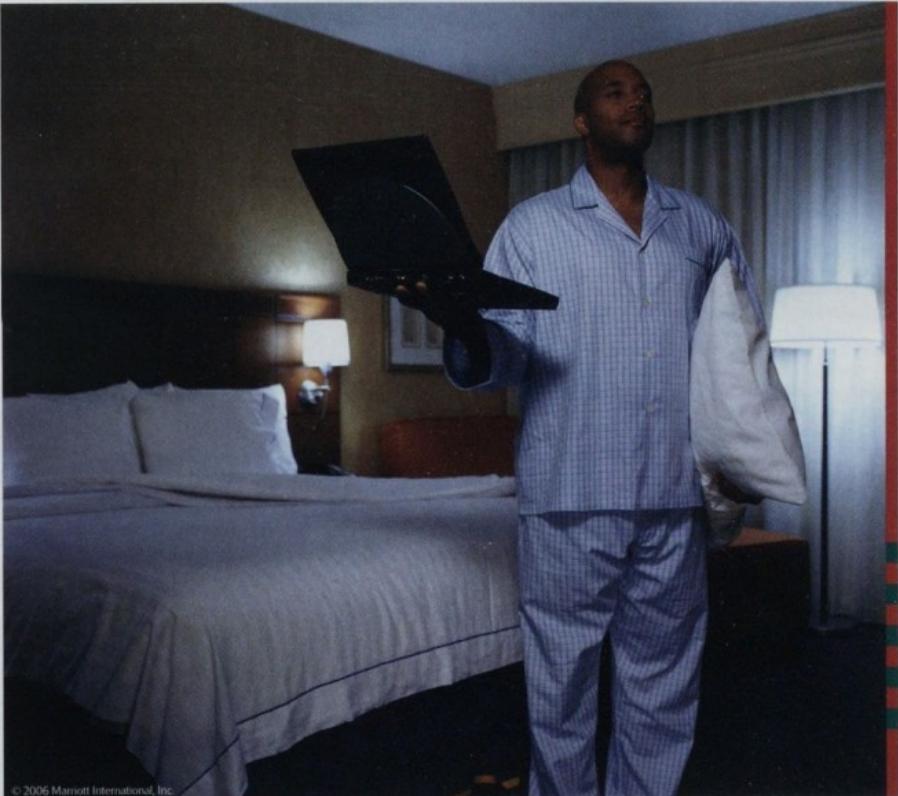
ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY ANDREW MORRIS-ALAMY

**MAKING THE MOST OF MICKEY**

Theme parks are often not the first choice of parents, but sometimes the lure of Disney is unavoidable. Fodor's *Disneyland & Disney California with Kids*

offers detailed maps, descriptions of rides (including age ranges and scare factors) and lists of attractions and shows you can skip. Also useful are its tips on the best rest rooms for toddlers and where to find the least crowded stroller rentals.





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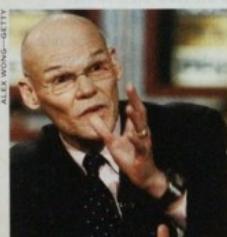
Well, it finally happened: *South Park* offended someone. Singer Isaac Hayes, 63, the voice of the cartoon's sex-obsessed **CHEF**, has quit, citing its "intolerance and bigotry toward religious beliefs of others." Matt Stone, *South Park*'s co-creator, says that Hayes had "no problem—and he's cashed plenty of checks—with our show making fun of Christians" and only "got a sudden case of religious sensitivity when it was his religion." At issue is a November 2005 episode that mocked the Church of Scientology, of which Hayes is a member, and the world's most famous Scientologist, Tom Cruise. The show was not rerun last week, as scheduled, for reasons Comedy Central declined to explain. Maybe somebody realized it wasn't very well drawn.

COMEDY CENTRAL



## OH, SHE IS SO NOT INVITED NEXT YEAR

And the Oscar for Refusal to Kiss Up goes to **ANNIE PROULX**. 70, on whose 1997 short story *Brokeback Mountain* was based. After *Brokeback* lost the Best Picture Oscar to *Crash*, Proulx wrote a vituperative column in the *Guardian*, attacking the winning film (which she refers to as *Trash*), Hollywood types ("somewhat dim"), the awards event ("reminiscent of a small-town talent show") with "an atmosphere of insufferable self-importance") and even innocent bystanders Three 6 Mafia ("an atrocious act"), who won the Oscar for Best Song. She also lays into the Academy ("conservative heffalumps"). Yep, she used the *H* word. This could get ugly. Someone might call her a woozle.



## FROM THE OVAL OFFICE TO THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE

### EXCLUSIVE

Most high school election campaigns are decided over bake sales and banners. Not so for the Washington-area students at the focus of Lifetime Television's new reality show *Election*. Seasoned political strategists—and spouses—**JAMES CARVILLE**, 61, who helped orchestrate Bill Clinton's winning campaign in 1992, and **MARY MATALIN**, 52, a longtime adviser to Dick Cheney, have signed on to counsel the candidates for school president. Will this be the most serious student campaign ever? "I don't think there will be a media campaign," says Matalin. Adds Carville: "The real trick with any 61-year-old dealing with any 16-year-old is to get them to listen to a word you say. I'm remarkably unsuccessful with my own." —Reported by Melissa August/Washington

## Q&A | VIN DIESEL

**Vin Diesel** wore a wig and gained 30 lbs. to play real-life mobster Jackie DiNorscio in *Find Me Guilty*, a courtroom dramedy directed by Sidney Lumet.

**You went from action to comedy pretty quickly. Are you worried you've cashed in your action-hero chips too fast?** That doesn't enter into it. I don't think like that. I love to do action movies. I love to do comedies. I would love to do dramas and romantic comedies.

**How did you end up landing a Sidney Lumet movie?** I've been acting long enough that I used to say, "If I'm not a star by 18, I'm going to get out of the business." I just kept going until I was so frustrated that I ended up writing my own short movie, *Multi-Facial*. Ten years later, Sidney Lumet sees it and wants me to play Jackie DiNorscio.

**And what's it like working with Lumet?** Incredible. He's real heavy on rehearsals. He had me go through two hours of makeup for a table

reading. I was like, I don't need all this. Then I realized it wasn't about me. Sidney wanted everybody at the table to only see Jackie.

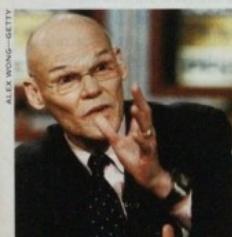
**Some would argue that you and costar Peter Dinklage are sex symbols in the same way.** [Laughs] Oh, great. It's in the voice. Oh, yeah, he's got a great voice. Oh, my God, Peter Dinklage's voice is just [in a mock-French accent] *uncraydeebay*.

**You're now producing, directing and acting in *Hannibal*. Are you really ambitious or a total control freak?** It depends who you ask.

I'm really ambitious, I'd like to think. The first two movies I made, I not only wrote, directed and starred in, I also cooked for the crew.



ERIC LUDWIG/SYGMA/GETTY



ERIC LUDWIG/SYGMA/GETTY

Ana Marie Cox

# Lobbyists in Love

With power couples, conflict of interest is what makes them interesting

**T**HE FIRST TWO YEARS I LIVED IN WASHINGTON, I WAS "THE wife." My husband was an editor at the *Washington Post*, but my career lottery number had yet to come up. Tagging along in the modest swirl of D.C. cocktail parties, I was the half of the couple who watched people's gaze drift during conversation as they searched the room for someone a little more plugged in. No one remembered my name or asked for my card or paid for my lunch. I was unexpensable. My husband twice received handsome engraved invitations to presidential dinners. For those events and many others, I was the perpetual plus-one.

No one here wants to be "the wife." Especially not the husband. Being "the wife" isn't about the power structure inside the marriage. It's about where you fit in outside it.

At least I was able to show up. For many in Washington—Congressmen and Senators especially—being married to someone in the de facto auxiliary club of this company town means the spouse doesn't live in the city at all. A lobbyist friend (people do have them, even now) recently rattled off six current and former legislators who had come to Washington married to a "high school sweetheart type" back home and then found themselves married a second time to someone a little more "in the game"—a staff member or lobbyist, usually. My friend added, for emphasis, "Newt Gingrich has done it at least twice." People don't just want to be "the wife"—they also don't want to be married to her.

That's because, along with whatever dream it is that brings people to Washington in the first place (universal health care, peace in the Middle East, unlimited think-tank cheese plates), one of the perks is the power marriage. Few are aiming for a truly high-wattage pairing on a par with Ben Bradlee and Sally Quinn's or James Carville and Mary Matalin's. The hope is to be an equal partner in a couple where you make a difference while also making loads of money and not getting indicted, if you can manage it. Both of you don't have to be famous; you just both have to have a slot in the gigantic circuit board of connections that make Washington go. Perhaps it's less a power marriage than a power-grid one.

Of course, younger staff members are not usually thinking

about marriage when they cruise the dark, surprisingly dank bars of Capitol Hill. If they consider—however dimly—the consequences of these more brief entanglements, they aren't thinking in terms of securing earmarks so much as they are of securing company for the night. Sheer physical appeal (and proximity) may be what accounts for most of the attraction, but neither the youthful carousers nor the not-so-youthful ones would be in the District if they weren't also interested in playing a, well, deeper game. This is not to say that someone's power or influence can make him or her attractive if last call can't. But sometimes the favors a person can do you aren't as important as simply understanding what favors you need.

Everyone in Washington understands this anthropology—which is why no one wants to do anything about lobbyists and the lawmakers who love them. Whether it's by temperament or circumstance, half a dozen legislators (including both Senators from North Dakota and Representatives John Dingell of Michigan and Roy Blunt of Missouri) as well as untold numbers of staff members are married to lobbyists, and apparently that's just fine. Maybe it has to be.

The glare of Jack Abramoff's indictment has highlighted many of the capital's more unsavory habits, and members of Congress have been eager, in an election year, to make a show of throwing away

their perks. No junkets; no booze cruises; they will take a lunch only if it's a Happy Meal. But politics stops at the bedroom's edge. Post-Abramoff Sudden Virtue Syndrome has yet to result in a ban on the world's most obvious conflict of interest, one that is, in the words of Public Citizen director Frank Clemente, "way up there on the unseemly scale." "We live in a different world than we did 30 or 40 years ago, and people should recognize it," a would-be reformer told the *New York Times*.

The spectacle of lawmakers niggling over lunch guidelines and those surprisingly entertaining "educational trips" illustrates how much easier it is to spout rhetoric about honesty in public life than it is to live an actual public life in a city where conflicts of interest are just what make people interesting. Outlaw lobbying by spouses, and you'll greatly restrict the options for those who want to marry inside the Beltway but don't ever want to be "the wife." Marriage is a contract, but in Washington no less than anywhere else, it can't survive under conditions of full disclosure. ■





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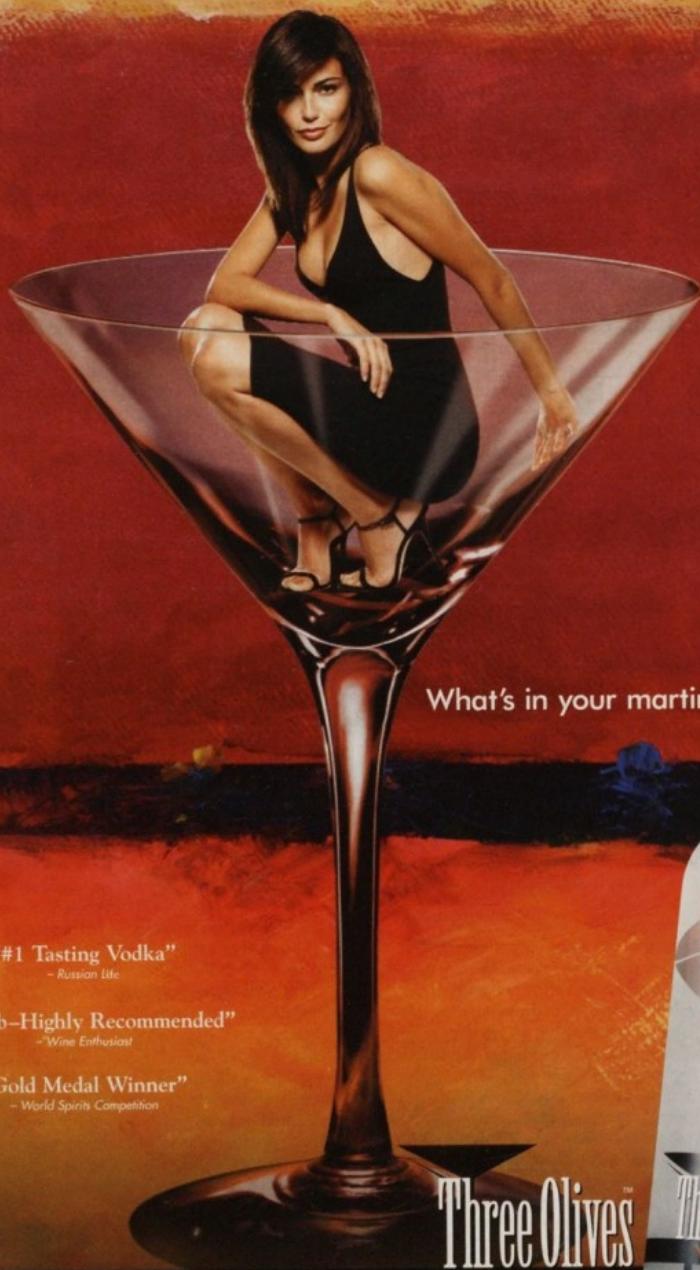
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